585 widespread throughout the Islamic world. However there is more to it than that—
577 indeed it comes close to the heart of the Kanuri way of looking at things. Kanuri
829 social life is a constant search for fruitful social contacts in which one man is the
• [571] superior and the other a subordinate to him. Between the sexes, the culture defines
562 women as inferior in rank to men. Thus the place universally available to all men
577 for the achievement of subordinates is the family and the household, and the ideal
581 female subordinate is a young girl, one who has not yet been divorced, that is rejected
829 her subordination to her husband, and one whom the husband can train
to become properly obedient to his own personal wishes. Thus marriage to a previously
unmarried girl symbolizes what every man wants, not sexually, but socially;
unblemished and complete obedience from docile subordinates who receive material
benefits in return for subordination. Seen in this light the marriage with young girls
[183] then becomes more understandable for it represents some of the most profoundly
important values in the society.

587 Most Kanuri do not, however, marry girls who have never been married before.
Generally they marry a *zower*—or divorced woman. This is carried out with
much less ceremony than the virgin marriage. Men may see a divorced woman they
like and simply send a friend who asks if she would like to marry. Or the men may
begin an affair with her, give her market money once a week just as he would a
wife, and then during this time decide whether or not he and this woman should
[837] proceed towards a marriage. Such liaisons are considered formally to be illegal extramarital
relations, but in everyday life they are tolerated as a form of courtship.
Harsh approbation is directed toward sexual relations by a man with another man's
wife. Thus although a very few men claim to remain chaste in their relations with
a divorced woman, most men agree that there is nothing seriously the matter with a
discreet affair with such a person.

593 As Muslims the Kanuri also think of marriage as a relationship involving
562 more or less *purdah*, or wifely confinement within the household. Generally, it is
made quite clear before the marriage begins just how much constraint the husband
expects. And for the most part such restrictions are positively related to the class
[554] and status of the husband. Thus the higher the status of the husband, the greater
the probability of almost total confinement on the part of the wife. Certainly all
Kanuri men would like their wives to remain inside the compound, however very
few can afford to insist. To do so necessitates that there must be a well inside the
compound, enough wealth so that the husband does not require the wife's work in
the fields, and enough help so that he can send a male servant or client along with
her on the few occasions when it becomes absolutely necessary for her to go out.

582 The Kanuri themselves categorize a few other forms of marriage on the
basis of the relations already existing between the partners, or being set up by the
marriage. They speak of cousin marriage, marriage with a religious practitioner,
marriage with a wealthy or powerful person (a marriage of pleasure) as varieties
587 of unions. They also mention the possibility of the sororate (marriage with a person
called sister by one's dead wife) and the levirate (marriage by the younger
brother of his dead brother's wife or wives). These latter are quite rare, and I have
only recorded one case of the levirate in the last ten years, and none of the sororate.
595 Kanuri think marriage with wife's sister, or person she calls sister while she is still

593 wives and thus lead to frequent divorce. In such circumstances a close intimate relationship between husband and wife is a victory of personality over social and cultural conditions in the society.

Other Family Relations and the Behavior Norms

593 To the Kanuri themselves, family relations—those between parents and
602 children, between siblings, uncles and nephews, grandparents and grandchild, be-
571 tween one in-law and another and so on—are part of a larger framework of
829 behavior governing almost all the important relations between persons and groups
867 in the society. The Kanuri believe that these relations originate in the family where the person first learns them and are then extended outwards to include all of the important social relations of adult life. From the anthropologist's point of view it is impossible to say which comes first. Do the family relations create or cause those social relations which best suit them, or does the society outside the family create the kind of family relations required by the society at large? Whatever the answer, the Kanuri are quite clear on this point. They believe that the rules governing social relations in the family and household are the essential guides to the successful operation of the larger scaled organizations in the economic and political life of their society. Thus many social relations in Bornu have a kin-like quality or are spoken of using the idiom of kinship, even though the persons involved clearly recognize that they have no kinship with one another through genealogical, descent group, or affinal relations.

593 The most important of these relations is the *bərzum* or discipline-respect
571 relationship closely modelled on, and usually spoken of in terms of, the father-son
577 relationship. In this relationship a father gives his son protection, security, food and shelter, a place or status in the community, an occupation, helps him to arrange a marriage, and represents him in the adjudication of disputes. In his turn the son must be completely loyal, obedient and subserviant to his father, and work for him
[861] in whatever way the father feels is necessary. This respect is so demanding a mode of behavior in families that young children are sometimes sent away to a relative's household, usually to a grandparent, and return as one infomant put it, "when they understand respect." When the father dies, an older brother or a paternal uncle may
[602] take the place of the father as head of the household. He then receives the same respect from the dead man's children. This is so because they are older men with authority in the household. Thus all senior relatives, older siblings, and paternal uncles receive respect, and although it may not have the intense quality of the father-son relationship to begin with, everybody knows they may have to treat such a
[867] person as if he were a father under certain circumstances. Besides this, a young child is taught that in general older people are to be respected, no matter what
[561] their sex or degree of relationship to oneself. Other persons in society are indicated as being "like your father" or "greater than your father" in the amount of discipline and respect that they require. Religious specialists, political leaders, and any compound head with whom a person is staying are all in this category. In other words, the father-son behavior norm is the model used by the people themselves to describe the nature of all authority relations in the society.

Daughters are taught in the same way, but they must give great heed to 577
their mothers who are, in a day-to-day sense, the authority figures in their lives. Al- 57
though men will respond to questions by saying they have similar discipline and 593
respect for both their father and mother, there is in addition an emotional quality [828]
to the mother-son relationship almost wholly lacking in that between the father and [861]
his children. For many Kanuri men this is leavened by the high divorce rate that
separates them from a continual long-term association with their mothers. But for
those who have had consistent long-term associations with their mothers this can be
the strongest emotional relationship of an entire lifetime. Thus one young man re-
signed from a salaried job suddenly one day because, as he said, "I wanted to see my
mother and felt she was too far away."

Discipline-respect relationships are qualified by another mode of behavior 571
called *nungu*, or shame-avoidance. This means that the persons in the relationship, 576
especially the junior, must be subdued, self-controlled and constantly be restricted
in his behavior to very limited traditional patterns. In the extreme, people who
have *nungu* relationships would not eat together from the same bowl, as friends
do, and only the most necessary conversation passes between them, while the junior
keeps his eyes lowered and is in no way informal. This is best seen when a very 571
friendly person is suddenly confronted with, or is observed with, his own father. 576
His jocularity suddenly disappears; he becomes extremely serious and humble, and 593
never speaks until spoken to unless he has a particular message he has been com-
missioned to bring. Even then he will wait until asked to state the meassage.

Within the kinship system the epitomy of the *nungu* relationship is that of 571
father and son, but other senior men like father's and mother's brothers as well as 576
older brothers may all have some shame-avoidance in their relationship to a young 593
nephew or brother. Such shame-avoidance increases when the age differences are 602
greater, when the wealth and power of the senior is great, and most particularly if
the senior has either taken the place of a dead father, or a young man has been sent
to live with his senior male relative so that the older brother or uncle is now his
compound head. When there are sex differences as well, then *nungu* is less intense
within the descent group but more intense with affines to whom it applies. Thus a
Kanuri man will tell his mother things he cannot speak of to his father, and gen-
erally he can speak more easily to his mother's and his father's sisters than he
can to his uncles. However the most abject avoidance is maintained between in-laws
of the opposite sex. Such persons would never allow themselves to be alone to-
gether; they avoid each other on a path (the woman steps out of the way with eyes
downcast), and they would never speak to one another directly. Because Kanuri [591]
girls go to live with their husbands, often close to or in the households of their
husband's family, then the burden of such avoidances falls on the bride. Only when
the wife and husband move to a household of their own at some remove from that
of his parents can the intense avoidance and tension generated by strict *nungu* rules
between the young girl and her father-in-law be alleviated.

In the wider society there are *nungu* relations as well. Generally speaking, 571
the greater the discipline-respect, the more likely it is to be associated with *nungu* 576
or shame-avoidance. Thus the relationship between a man and his direct superior in
a political or economic organization has many elements of *nungu* connected with it.
He rarely speaks directly to his superior, they do not have long conversations, he

571 mutters "yes, yes, yes" while his superior is talking but keeps his eyes cast down-
576 wards; to very powerful superiors like the Shehu he must not talk directly at all,
but to an intermediary. Wives of such persons are treated like senior in-laws. In-
[582] deed, given the traditional practice of giving wives to clients, often from among
one's own daughters, it is quite possible that the wife of a superior will one day
become the mother-in-law of a client subordinate.

571 As a person grows up in his family, he also learns that there are some people
576 with whom he can have very permissive relations. The ideal person is a grandparent,
602 although a similar relationship exists between a spouse and all of his younger in-laws.
A young boy can go to his grandfather's house and take things, pull his grandfather's
beard, and generally misbehave, all the while receiving only a pat on the head for such
licentiousness. Sex differences do not count here although there is sexual joking
especially in the relations between a person and a junior in-law of the opposite sex.
571 Later in life young boys and girls learn that such joking (*suli*) is a special form of
576 interaction that can also be carried out between traditionally competitive occupational
578 groups and traditionally hostile ethnic groups. On an individual basis one person in
such a relationship calls the other "grandson" and the "grandson," being the younger,
602 calls the older man "grandfather." The Kanuri explain that this helps to alleviate
[182] any tensions which may develop between the persons in such groups who are natural
competitors or by tradition hostile to one another.

571 Finally, in the extended family and the household a young person grows up
572 with brothers, sisters, and cousins who are also called siblings. The closer the age
593 and interests of "siblings" of the same sex, the greater the solidarity and friend-
602 ship. During childhood the young person usually chooses a young age-mate from
amongst his siblings or cousins as his *ashirmanzə* or "secrets man," the person who
knows his most intimate thoughts, hopes, and fears. Later in life, he chooses other
ashirmanzə from inside his kinship network and outside it. He l[illegible]rns the faculty of
intimacy, however, in his youthful friendships in the family an[illegible]usehold.

571 The family and the household then are orbits in which w[illegible]behaving
867 are learned and these characteristic norms of behavior are used for [illegible]-scale so-
626 cial relations throughout the individual's life. At the core of these relations is *bər-
zum* discipline-respect. As well shall see, Bornu is an interwoven set of economic
and political hierarchies, and this relationship of *bərzum* serves as the chief mech-
anism for the proper functioning of these complex relations between superiors and
their subordinates.

The Household

59

Kinship may form the biological and the behavioral basis for Kanuri society, but it does not provide a place for such relations to operate. The Kanuri live in cities, villages, and hamlets and the basic unit of organization in these settlements is the household, rather than the family or any set of kinship groups. Even though these may be synonymous in some cases, in many compounds family and household are certainly not the same, and the distinction is fundamental to an understanding of the society. Furthermore the household, or compound as it is sometimes called, is stable in comparison to the family. The family can be split, and

592 uses it to benefit himself and his brother, the group tends to remain intact rather
593 than break up. The following statement by an informant illustrates some of the forces at work in the continuity of a household organization that has gone on for
592 more than one generation.

> 593 159 I did not have a father and was now living in the house of my elder brother who was head of the house. I therefore had to give my brother the same discipline-respect as a father and keep myself continually under his command. I wanted a wife. (All my other brothers had married and moved out to form their own households by now), but my brother ordered me to wait patiently until I learned the occupation (butchering) properly. He said, "... continue to stay in my house and carry grass for my horse and learn the butcher's trade, and I will feed you and give you money for spending and I will buy your clothes." But I was not happy and saved my money in secret, saved enough to take a wife of my own. They were cheap in those days. My older brother was angry and did not agree to the marriage for he still wanted me to stay in his compound. But I did not wish to do that, and so I moved away to a house that X, the husband of my mother's sister in Maiduguri owned here in the butcher's quarters.

The informant felt that his older brother was taking advantage of him and so he planned secretly to start up a household on his own. The brother might have kept him, had he been more generous and supplied a wife to his younger brother, as a really successful compound head would have under similar circumstances.
554 Another informant, a money lender, had very little status because of his money-lending activities, but was the possessor of great wealth. He managed to keep his brothers near him and their sons and the wives of all of these plus a number of other people who he supported with loans, defended in the courts, and loaned money to for wives and for trading purposes. He arranged for their marriages and sometimes even obtained girls for them. On the other hand, they served him loyally as messengers, laborers, and loyal supporters in the community at large. A number of
592 people, men and women, move completely away from former households when they get married and move out on their own. This depends basically on what advantage they see in it for themselves, and, in the city, on the availability of land and rent.

592 About forty percent of the ordinary peasant households have one or two un-
571 married adult men living in the compound who are not members of the family at all. They help the household head on his farm plots, carry grass for his horse, take messages for him to friends and relatives, carry his goods to market, learn his dry season non-farming occupation, and give him the utmost loyalty when he must face any community opposition whatsoever. In return, the household head feeds them, clothes them, acts as their protector in local disputes when he can, and helps them with their bridewealth and marriage arrangements. These clients are called *tada njima* (son of the house). They refer to the household head as *abba njima* (father of the house). They treat their *abba njima* with all the discipline and respect that they give their own father and expect from him the same kind of behavior a son expects from a father, indeed more so because only loyalty and obedience, and what one obtains in return for these qualities, can maintain the relationship, since there is no basis in kinship for its continuity.

000 The important point to be made here is that the Kanuri feel that the *bar-*

The important point to be made here is that the Kanuri feel that the bər-
zum[3] or discipline-respect ingredients of the father-son relationship can be trans- 593
ferred. This does not mean that they forget their own fathers who are their biolog- 571
ical kin. However it does mean that they use the norms of the father-son relation- 829
ship for self-advancement or for relating to other people as they would to their fa- [156]
ther, in return for those things that they obtain traditionally from a father. Kanuri [123]
were always coming to me and addressing me as their father, or asking for a small
gift in the hope that they might repay me with some discipline and respect and
begin initiating a *tada njima* role for themselves with me as their *abba njima*.
However, there is more to initiating the role than simply asking me for a gift or
doing a service. In order for it to work there must be *aman* or trust. A man must 592
know when he brings a client into his household that he will try to behave like a 571
son. Even then he waits patiently and watches to see how firm and fast the pro-
fessed loyalty really is. Most Kanuri say that a year is not too long a period to wait
while testing out the strength of such a relationship before actually giving the per-
son (the *tada njima*) some real responsibilities from which both the household
head and the client might gain.

This means of adding to a household can produce very extensive groupings
under the proper conditions. If a man has a powerful political post, either in the
traditional or modern post-colonial administration, his activities in trade, farming,
tax collection, or adjudication means that he can use a large following of loyal and
obedient clients. The transferability of the father-son relationship allows men to
build up such organizations whenever they have the means to maintain them. Kanu- [554]
ri judge success in life not by wealth or power per se, but by the size of a man's
following. And the best indication of this is the size of the household and those
related households over which he has some control. Thus great households, the 592
greatest of which is that of the Shehu of Bornu, form the upper class group of 571
Kanuri society. Wealthy traders have many *tada njima* who, after their loyalty has 565
been proven, are given goods and money to go out and trade for their superiors. 555
Bornu society is such that powerful men, indeed any man wishing to raise his sta-
tus, require loyal followers and clients who use the ingredients of the father-son
relationship to define their interpersonal relations. Certainly many of the people a [602]
man may depend upon are members of his own descent group, but kinsmen differ
from clients in a number of important respects. Kinsmen may profit not only by
one another's success, but through inheritance they also gain by each other's death.
Or if a particular prerogative, say access to political office of some kind, resides in
one male line, then an office-holder's male relatives may profit from his dismissal
since one of them may be considered as a replacement. Furthermore relationships
based on descent cannot be broken completely—some mutual dependence always
remains—even though a superior dislikes the services of his descent group member
who is serving as his subordinate. Clientship is more rational in this respect since 592
clients can in effect be "fired" for poor performance of their duties. Thus client- 571
ship, represented by the *tada njima* relationship, is a flexible and useful tool in the
building of Kanuri households and even larger social groupings.

Finally it is important to remember that all of these important relationships [601]
are basically those within a household. This is the stage upon which family life [182]

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[3] The letter ə is pronounced as the "oo" in "look" or "book."

[104]

592 takes place. Here an individual learns the modes of behavior towards others that he
571 requires for an adequate and successful social life in Kanuri society. The kinship
601 system, the family, and the household produce individuals who can live in other
182 households; and using the basic modes of behavior from household life they can
participate in the widely ramified political and economic organization of their society. Thus kinship, family, and household—but most importantly the household and the superior-subordinate relations within it—provide a basis and a locus for maintaining the society and its values in their present form.

869 and the boys go there to learn their prayers and the beginning of Islamic theology.
871 In some cases, especially with girls, the instruction is taken in the household itself.
562 During adolescence this training may become more serious, and boys who were not
sent to live with their religious teachers before may go off to learn Islamic practices
[875] in greater detail. The relationship of a boy to his *mallam* or religious teacher is expressed
in the saying, "Your mallam exceeds your father." In other words, a boy's
religious instructor exceeds his father in fatherly qualities and he must be respected
and obeyed as a superior whose authority is unquestioned.

592 Whether a child goes to live with his religious teacher or not, there are
593 other important factors that maintain for him a high turn-over among household
members that is in striking contrast to the norms of western society. No matter
[586] where he lives in Bornu there is a high divorce rate and the possibility that his
mother and father will not live together all their lives is very great indeed. Children
stay under the control of their father in his household, although some contact
with the mother is maintained and remains a strong emotional bond for many, even
though there is a constant possibility that it cannot remain a household relationship.
[586] High divorce also means that the mother's co-wives are continually changing
[595] and that one's own half-siblings may be without their own mother in the compound
so that compound relationships themselves are continually shifting and
changing throughout a person's childhood.

855 The Kanuri also practice fostering. In some cases children are given to
592 grandparents, or friends, or other relatives to be raised. Sometimes the reasons are
[577] political, and the parents try to place the child in a very important person's household
so that the child may grow up knowing and associating with people who can
help him later on in life. Sometimes it is felt to be a kindness towards a friend or
592 to the child's grandparents. Whatever the reason, the child lives during his early
855 years in a compound other than that of his own parents. It is possible to find Kanuri
571 who have lived in as many as four or five compounds by the time they reach
adolescence, and two or three is quite common. On the other hand, there are also
many people—especially in rural areas where their work is needed—who were
raised in only one household. One informant reported how he was given to a father's
younger brother at weaning, given to a religious teacher at six, returned to his father
at the age of eight, then put into the household of the district head when he
was thirteen. Although there is much variation in this practice, in conjunction with
the high divorce rate as well as the always present possibility of sudden death by
disease, it means again that the actual people in the younger person's relational netword
are many, many, times more fluid and changing than is the case in western
society.

105 Summing up this very important point, we may say that it is a rare Kanuri
867 who has passed through childhood with a stable set of interpersonal relations to
593 siblings or adult members of his household. This means that in child training the
relationships to specific persons are not stressed as much as the norms of behavior
we spoke of in Chapter 3. The one important exception to this is the relationship
to one's mother which is particularly strong between a mother and her son. This fits
nicely into the life cycle of women who, as we shall see, usually return to their son
later in their old age to take up the role of old, unmarried women. In stressing the
norms of behavior rather than particular relationships, it is respect and obedience

882 veloped physically had not yet married. There were many rumors and much gossip
883 to the effect that she was no longer a virgin and that men of the town slept with
581 her. Her father, it was said, would have a hard time arranging her first marriage.
156 The girl herself seemed to be suffering increasingly from her inability to see herself in the role of a child awaiting marriage instead of that of a developing young matron—the role now common among her young age mates. Thus in order to take up a normal position in society, girls are supposed to have their first marriages in and around the time of puberty. Failure to do so indicates a deviant and degrading development. This is the reason why almost all Bornu men say that girls who go on
883 in the educational system are "spoiled" and should never be allowed to stay in
882 school beyond the traditional age of marriage. The girls in school see the matter
871 differently; the situation remains today one of tension, with the majority against
578 education for girls, and the schools themselves looking for students and preaching a somewhat different attitude toward a girl's adolescence than that held traditionally by the people.

Another point should also be noted. Most girls have very little choice, if
882 any, in their first marriage arrangements. If they are very drastically opposed to the
883 union, their views are considered since parents are afraid they might behave badly
584 as young wives. However they are traditionally supposed to respect the wishes of their parents and comply with their demands. Indeed many Kanuri, both men and women, know very little about their first marriage arrangements at all since these are almost entirely made by their parents or the head of the compound they are living in at the time. It should also be realized that many Kanuri girls marry for the first time with men sometimes as much as two, three, and even four times their own age which enhances the traditional seniority of the husband as well as taking any "romance" out of it for the girls.

881 Sometime around the end of childhood and into the beginning of the teen-
[304] age period young boys are circumcized. This event is fundamentally a ceremonial occasion and is thus related only in a rough general way to the actual onset of puberty for each boy. Generally speaking boys are cut in groups, although in rural areas it is not uncommon to see a family performing the ceremony for just one boy
[554] in the household. On the other hand circumcision among high-ranking people such as village heads, district heads, members of the royal family, or rich traders in the city attracts many other families who try to have their own children cut at the same time to participate in the large festivities. Usually the higher the rank of the leading families involved in a circumcision the greater the number of boys who are likely to be cut at the same time.

881 The important thing is not the readiness of the boy. Rather it is the auspi-
571 ciousness of the occasion in terms of the family's relationship to the rest of the community. Is there a large circumcision taking place this year? Are a large number of friends and relatives asking when little Abba Gana is going to be circumcized? Have the household members, especially the household head, attended a great many marriage or naming ceremonies? Have other community members been given gifts on these occasions? Is it not time to reap the benefit of all this participation by having a ceremony of one's own to which many people will come and bring gifts of food, clothing, and money for the family and the boy? These and similar questions are the determining factors in the timing of the circumcision ceremony, and

they point to the major functions of the event. Certainly it marks publicly the 881
opening of the gates on the road to manhood for the young man, but, much more 571
importantly, it validates, strengthens and dramatizes the relational network of ties [182]
that the family and the household maintain and attempt to promote in the society.

At some of the larger ceremonies, especially those held by the high-ranking 881
households in Bornu, there is often a small group of recent converts who ask to 648
join the ceremony in order to mark their religious conversion and obtain full membership in Kanuri society. In one very large circumcision we saw forty-seven boys from high status households and ten Cameroon pagans ranging in age from fifteen to thirty-five. These latter seemed completely ecstatic to have been accepted at the ceremony and were the subject of much ribald joking by the Kanuri participants. However they now had an easier access to Kanuri women as wives and sweethearts, and it is conceivable that when they do in fact marry Kanuri women they and their descendants will eventually be absorbed into Kanuri society. Thus the circumcision ceremony is one of the important gateways into society for non-Moslems from the small tribes surrounding Bornu on its southern and southeastern borders.

As in many cultures around the world, the Kanuri themselves regard the 881
circumcision ceremony as a mark of approaching manhood, and even though the 562
boys are often quite young the ceremony still dramatizes their adult or approaching 182
adult status. Thus after the boys have come out of confinement during which the cut heals, they are given whips which they brandish while chasing and threatening the young girls. The girls must "buy off" such treatment by giving the young boy a few pennies. This ritual was left unexplained by informants who answered questions about its meaning by saying, "We do this because it is our custom." However, it seems likely that it is a symbolic reference to the achievement of manhood or potential manhood. It symbolizes through ritual the cultural value of male dominance which the boys must now begin to practice as they prepare to join the ranks of adult men. The "buying off" of the beating by the little girls can be interpreted to reflect the flexibility of female submissiveness; a woman must behave submissively towards a man but she has levers to gain her own rights and wishes in her relationships with men.

Adolescence 882 883

As we have seen, there is an extra age-grade period for boys which lasts [561]
from around the time of circumcision to their first marriage between the ages of [582]
eighteen and twenty-five. At first the young man is still thought of as a small boy, but as he advances into middle and late teenage years he becomes more of a *zairo*—that is to say, a young bachelor. He associates in his free time with other young men his age and begins to gossip about trade, politics, and nocturnal adventures
with women. Young boys generally obtain their first sexual experience in their mid [836]
to late teenage period from divorced women who are often older than themselves. In their later teens and early twenties they begin to have more serious love affairs of longer duration with young divorced women who may turn out to be their future wives if their first marriages are not already arranged by their parents.

Sitting and listening to a group of these young men discussing matters of 500

The terms of the relationship are dictated by the boy and his immediate
family or compound head, on the one hand, and the master instructor on the other. 883
If there is a recognized kinship link between the boy and his future teacher and the 868
compound head, then arrangements are much looser than if this is not the case. In 571
the latter situation there is generally hard bargaining over the terms of the relationship. 592
In general the boy must live in the master's house for a stipulated period helping with all the work of the household, the farming, bringing grass for the horse if there is one, running messages, and helping in the occupational specialization of his master. He is a *tada njima*, or son of the house, and refers to his new household head as *abba njima*, or father of the house. He is supposed to act in the situation in the same way as a son acts towards his father. If the master is already a relative, he refers to the apprentice by the appropriate kin term in the manner laid out for such relationships within the culture, although he has added authority in this particular situation. Arrangements in such cases are often made early in the boy's life and last longer, coming closer in effect to a true adoption. A number of men reported having difficulty ending such relationships when they wish to go out on their own, especially when the master is also related by kinship to the apprentice. On the other hand, all Kanuri accept subordination as the means to valued ends. The following case will give some idea of the details involved in such a relationship.

A young barber apprentice of about nineteen or twenty years of age had 883
previously been apprenticed to a seller of kola nuts. However he decided to give it 868
up because it entailed the constant giving of credit to his customers and he never 571
seemed able to collect all the money owed to him. His full brother in Maiduguri 159
who had been his wholesale supplier advised him to return to their home town and 305
become a barber. The older brother claimed that it was a good occupation and furthermore 592
one of the barbers back in Magumeri needed an apprentice since his own son was as yet too young to help in the work. The young boy returned to Magumeri to ask the barber about it and then completed his own arrangements for the apprenticeship. He moved into the barber's compound for one year and became his apprentice. He could visit the compound in which his mother lived and attend his own farm plots. But he had to cultivate the barber's land, gather grass for the horse, carry water now and then, and be ready at all times to run messages for his
abba njima. The barber taught him how to shave heads and cup blood (for medicinal [057]
purposes), and gave him a barber's bag of tools with which he began working sometimes with his master, sometimes alone.[3] By rights all the proceeds earned during that year were supposed to be given to the master barber. Naturally he pocketed an occasional fee but not too often; to do so would have been to risk his mentor's dissatisfaction and also his projected career as a barber. The senior could, had he felt the boy to be completely unsatisfactory, dismiss him and take back the barber's tools. The barber clothed and fed him and gave him a little spending
money regularly during that first year. At special events such as naming ceremonies [465]
he was given a small tip by the household head because of his role as the barber's apprentice. This he kept for himself. In 1957 he moved into the compound occupied by his mother in Magumeri. He still considers himself a *tada njima* of the

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[3] Like many peoples of West Africa, the wider Islamic world, and even Europe not so long [171]
ago, the Kanuri believe that taking out a little blood can rid a person of various ailments. They do this by making a few shallow incisions, then sucking the blood into a cattle horn.

883 barber and still carries out special chores for his former master. He also claims that
868 he gives the senior barber about fifty percent of all his present receipts. As yet he
571 does not know how to cut face marks, remove the uvula, or perform circumcisions,
159 and so he attends all of these ceremonies with the master barber so that he may
305 continue his education. He hopes that by the next year he will be allowed to perform
592 some of these more advanced operations under supervision. When he has
[304] completely finished his education, it will not be necessary to do any chores for the
senior or give him any commission. Nevertheless the former apprentice should always pay his respects to his ex-master and give him gifts from time to time.

883 Other apprentices living with strangers claimed they felt more freedom in
868 the household of the stranger and thus live away from home for their training even
571 though they practice the same craft as their father. Many said that they would return
592 home eventually but for the present it was pleasant to travel around seeing
834 other parts of Bornu. This freedom refers more specifically to their sexual activity
or at least to its discussion since the discipline and respect given to the compound head is the same as elsewhere. However many boys discussed sex in front of the compound head while such behavior would be impossible in their natal family households. Some boys reported that their father was dead and they had been sent off by their families to the household of relatives or friends in order to learn an occupation.

882 In summary, adolsecence sharply divides men and women. A young girl
867 takes on her role as a married woman and it is within marriage that she completes
105 her education for adulthood in Kanuri society. A woman may divorce later on as
indeed most do, then remarry and bear children throughout. However the framework of adult life is entered into at a first marriage sometime around puberty. For the boy, on the other hand, adolescence is a socially recognized state in life entered at circumcision. This stage of life is used to complete the young man's education and equip him with the interpersonal and occupational skills that are required as an adult and a potential family head.

885

Maturity

192 The mature man is described by the Kanuri as *rashidi.* Ideally this implies
that he is married, has a compound of his own and an occupation, the use of some land for farming, and a recognized position in the community as the head of a compound. It also means that he has a certain degree of independence so that if he wished he could move of his own accord to another community. To be a mature man par excellence, he should also have children and the reputation of a person who does things discreetly and diplomatically. Maturity is not simply a term applied to a period of life. It is also a value judgement describing a proper and desirable behavior of an adult man. It is not just a role but an evaluation of that role.

885 Most people seemed unable or unwilling to answer the question of age in
relation to maturity, and so they fell back on marriage claiming that any married
885 man was in fact a mature adult. However a few, notably high ranking people, did
196 give an age and suggested that a person could not be thought of as being fully mature
until he was at least thirty-five, very often forty. After this age he is not sup-

592 the money weekly to his wives for petty market purchases and does all major purchases
462 of food and clothing on his own. He also pays for ceremonies, transportation,
and most of the gift-giving engaged in by himself and others in the household.
[434] Except for the sale of cooked food, pottery production, and female hair
dressing, men control all income producing work of any kind in the entire society.

Households as Consumers

592 Almost all people in Bornu use, obtain, or eat the things they need because
511 they are members of particular households or are related to a nearby household as a
subordinate of its household head. The patterns of consumption vary enormously
[184] from that of a rural peasant to that of a wealthy trader or political leader in the
city. However, the vast bulk of the population stays within a fairly uniform range
that involves a relatively low level of consumption. Most families, especially those
[264] in rural areas, eat two meals a day; one between 8:00 and 9:00 A.M. and the other
in the early evening between 8:00 and 9:00 P.M. Men of the compound and their
[362] male friends eat together while the women eat separately. Smaller snacks are eaten
during the day, and in the city it is common to eat more often especially among
[264] salaried workers who return home for breakfast about 9:00 to 9:30 A.M. and finish
[262] the work day at 2:00 to 2:30 P.M. at which time they eat a noon-day meal. The average
rural household consumes about eight pounds of millet (the staple grain food)
every day, or about one and a half tons per year. The millet comes from farm products
used by the household plus any buying that has to be done to augment this.
For those few at the higher end of the social scale food bills can be enormous. One
political leader in the capital claims that during his heyday he used to feed as
many as seventy people a day and had to have a very smoothly-running household
to get this much food processed and ready for his guests on a daily basis. In the
ordinary peasant household men give their wives money on a weekly basis to purchase
condiments for the staple food and sometimes meat as well although many of
the richer men prefer to buy meat themselves. The money, usually anywhere from
thirty cents to about $1.50 is given to the wife, or to each wife, or sometimes to the
senior wife who then divides it among the co-wives.[1]

592 To an outsider Kanuri food seems almost infinitely expandable. I have
261 often watched one bowl of food brought into the presence of a household head. He
would glance around at the half dozen or so of us present and then ask us to join
571 him, as he had to do by custom. On the other hand household heads have complained
576 to me that they feed too many. "But what can we do?" they say, friends
and would-be clients or subordinates know when food is to be brought, and they
simply appear, at which point custom forces the host to be gracious. Those who eat
continually at a friend's or a relative's house are in his debt and he may use their
services as he wishes. This is one of the principal means by which clientship starts
to operate. If the client eats with the patron, and the patron asks for services, and
if both are satisfied, the relationship soon becomes an established one.

000 Clothing, like food, is in the hands of the household head although, and as

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[436] [1] Nigerian money is in pounds, shillings, and pence. I have translated values here at the rate of $2.80 American to £1 Nigerian.

Clothing, like food, is in the hands of the household head although, and as
in the case of food, he is always pressured to obtain and distribute more than he 592
can afford. At harvest time, or major religious ceremonies during the year, and at 571
celebrations of *rites de passage* by household members, new clothing is in order 291
and is expected by everyone. Clients and subordinates in nearby households expect 511
gifts of clothing as well. Wealthy men may find it necessary to purchase several hundred men's robes a year just to satisfy their many dependents; on the other hand, a normal peasant householder can usually get by annually with under a half a dozen for male household members including himself and a similar number of women's robes for his wives.

Household heads must also organize and pay for repairs to compound walls 597
and sleeping huts, fuel and equipment for cooking fires, and kerosene for the 511
lamps. They must supply as well the ladies of the household with money for their fortnightly hair styling, perfumes, pomade for rubbing on their skin, and kola nuts. When someone is sick, they must consult the religious practitioner and the native doctor who diagnose the case, start the necessary prayers, and sell charms to effect a cure. Besides all this they must enter into community life, go to the weddings, naming ceremonies of friends, and have these friends come to their own ceremonies. Each time they attend affairs they and their household members must give [431]
gifts to those responsible for the ceremony. The more a man gives and the more often he goes to such ceremonies, the more successful and wealthy and contact-laden he is reputed to be. [554]
Most people are prudent and do not go beyond their means. Indeed the Kanuri term for "spendthrift" translates literally as "one who goes to many ceremonies." [192]

Consumption at the household level is organized by the household head and carried out under his guidance and control. He is constantly purchasing more so he can distribute it more generously to more people; yet for the ordinary household the bulk of the expenditure, roughly sixty percent of the household's earning power, is for food, and the next largest item is clothing, at about fifteen percent. This leaves approximately twenty-five percent of the household earning capacity to take care of everything in cash and kind beyond the simple necessities of food and clothing.[2]

Households as Producers 433

Kanuri production is tied traditionally to two interrelated factors in the physical and social environment of Bornu. These are, first, the geographical and ecological characteristics of the area, and secondly, the way in which agricultural
and nonagricultural pursuits complement one another in the economy. The Bornu [132]
area has a short rainy season from June to September and crop production is carried out during these months. Planting begins about the time of the first rains, and 241
the first hoeing takes place shortly afterward. The second hoeing is carried on from 221
the beginning of October to the end of November. Each hoeing requires between two to three weeks' work and harvesting may take as long as a month to a month and a half. Between these periods, beyond occasional scrutiny to see that straying

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[2] These data and much of the other material for this chapter were obtained (a) from detailed budget studies in a small sample of twenty-two rural households, and (b) from a less detailed survey of seventy-five rural households in three villages in the Magumeri area. [114]

241 cattle have not broken into and eaten the produce, very little work is required in
221 cultivating crops. Thus work on crop production is concentrated into less than six
months leaving the rest of the year free for other activities.

241 Although almost all Kanuri households obtain some food and some cash
from their farm plots, the amount of farming varies from person to person, from
433 village to village, and even for the same person from season to season. In the city,
434 many people have dropped farming and manage to earn enough cash income to
592 furnish their needs from the market. In the villages some households, usually in
areas of good soil and water supply, produce agricultural surpluses, while in other
areas the farm work provides only part of the household needs. Again some farmers
tend to produce fairly similar amounts of grain crops per year while others fluctuate,
so that they produce practically nothing some years and large bounties a few
years later. Increased prices of ground-nuts and guinea corn stimulate greater
household farming activities while trade and other nonfarming activities may interfere
with a man's farming. Sickness in the compound as well as blight and soil depletion
tend to decrease agricultural proceeds, and finally in the rural areas increase
or decrease in household size, especially in the number of wives, all tend to affect
the fluctuation of crop proceeds from one household to another or within the same
household over time. People who report themselves to be primarily farmers produce
more than those who report themselves to be craftsmen, although for the Magumeri
area the difference, when measured, does not seem to be very great. On the
other hand, traders and political and religious specialists seem to produce approximately
one quarter to one third as much on their farms as other people, and many
in this category do not farm at all.

241 The importance of wives has already been noted. The number of wives
464 available to any cultivator, as well as the number of his male subordinates in the
592 household, is the major factor affecting crop production. The high divorce rate
593 makes this primary source of labor somewhat unpredictable for each farmer. On
the other hand it also helps to stabilize marriage. Thus the more men depend upon
[433] help from their wives the less likely they are to divorce them, although their efforts
in this direction are never completely successful and the insecurity of farm help is
always there. The insecurity can be alleviated by using sons or clients or laborers,
[476] all of whom require payment in some way for their help. All rural Kanuri at times
help their neighbors, their relatives, or friends to farm and often a group of such
men get together to help one another in a cooperative work gang and then reciprocate
241 by helping each other in turn. Thus although many Kanuri do move around in
571 Bornu, farming favors the most stable who can build up social relations in one
place that can be utilized in the form of labor to offset the possible insecurity
caused by the ever-present high divorce rate.

241 To make the situation more complicated many Kanuri are not rooted in the
571 land emotionally. It is part of both the traditional and contemporary Kanuri conception
183 of getting ahead in the world that personal advancement is not to be found
[557] in farming. Achievement in Bornu is seen as stemming out of profitable social relationships
[177] and more recently western schooling. If it is judged to be personally
[871] profitable for an individual to leave his farm work in order to become someone's
client, there is little hesitation. Men asked me to take them on as clients and give
[123] them some money for trading purposes. They offered to travel anywhere in Bornu

and then bring me the profits whether or not they had crops growing and whether 241
or not they had labor to carry on the cultivation. If I asked them what would hap- 571
pen to their farm they showed little concern and said merely that they farm because 183
they can do nothing else. The implication is that if they had anything better to do [123]
they would stop farming immediately.

Land for agriculture is not scarce in Bornu and all settlements except the 311
capital city have plenty of free or unused land within their boundaries. Adjacent to a Kanuri village or hamlet are the farm plots of long-term members of the settlement and their descendants who have inherited these "house-farms" as they are called in Kanuri because they represent land attached to households. These plots
are always bounded and often fertilized by the village sheep and goats. In Magumeri house-farms extend in a circle around the village for a radius of about three quar- [361]
ters of a mile. Outside this circle are isolated farm plots dotted here and there and
free land as well as pasture land. Ownership is obtained by clearing such land after 423
having registered this intent with the village head, by inheriting a plot, or by having been given it by the previous owner. The Kanuri see house-farm land as symbolizing long-term and stable association with a village or city, while bush farms, although everyone has a few such plots, mean transience or newness because the household head who farms only these does not yet have any farm plots identified with his compound so that people can say, "There is Modu's house, his house-farms are in such-and-such a spot." Instead they say, "That is Modu, he has moved into so-and-so's house or built a house near so-and-so, and has cleared a few new farm plots a mile or two to the south of town."

An interesting and yet difficult question is that of land ownership. The way in which land is owned can be seen in those practices associated with acquisition and transfer. Anyone can clear new land or land that has been unclaimed for many years. He should report this to his local political leader whose permission is always granted if there are no known claims on the property. Again a man may go to the local political leader and ask where he can farm; he is then directed to available
plots on the advice of the leader. Or land may be inherited, usually in the male 423
line, or acquired as a gift from a friend, or it can even be sold. Political leaders 428
sometimes try to exert themselves in being party to all land transfers so that their permission becomes part of the transaction, and they feel they have a legitimate right to do so when the previous owner has used the land for a short period. The difficulty here is that there is no definite rule to tell the Kanuri how long a man should use a piece of land during his own lifetime before he has a total right to transfer it to anyone else. On the other hand, they believe that once land has been inherited it is the property of the family, and decisions about its use and transfer
are primarily in the hands of the owners. In practice the Kanuri always hold land 423
because they are using it, having cleared it, inherited it, or come to some agreement over it with the previous owner. In the latter case this could mean anything from an outright sale, practiced more near the larger cities, to an agreement over it with
the user who gives the previous owner some percentage of the crop. The system 423
works well when household heads as land owners and users have good working re- 592
lations with their local political leaders. If this is not the case, then political leaders often insist on helping to make decisions about the land and its ultimate transfer whether it has been held for a short time or a much longer one. I have seen or

438 craftsmen must sustain any and all competition from the import of goods into Ni-
439 geria. Thus native weaving has almost disappeared, as it has been unable to withstand the onslaught of milled cotton cloth from Europe and Japan.

434 Given the household nature and low productivity of most craft production in Bornu, it is interesting to ask whether many households can sustain themselves by relying on the proceeds. In rural Magumeri and surrounding villages craftsmen estimated their earnings per week from craftwork in both the dry and the wet seasons. When we compared these figures to the expenses of these same households in terms of food, clothing, ceremonies, taxes and so forth, we found that craftwork most often provides for about forty to fifty percent of the household expenses on an annual basis. In other words for rural producers craftwork is an important source of income but does not provide for the household's entire economic needs.
434 This is why almost all Kanuri outside the capital city are farmers *and* blacksmiths,
463 or farmers *and* calabash makers, or farmers *and* dyers, etc. On the other hand three kinds of people in rural Magumeri and its surrounding villages invariably get most of their income from non-farming activities. These are the political specialists or those connected by salary to the native administration, to a lesser extent the religious specialists, and to a still lesser extent many of the traders. These men tend to get higher cash incomes than the ordinary peasant craftsmen and thus do less farming.

433 When Kanuri craftsmen estimate why their productivity in household crafts
464 goes up or down, they give a number of reasons, but the one that comes up over
463 and over again concerns the loss or gain of helpers who either live in the house-
592 hold or close by. In other words the number of wives, followers, clients, sons, and
571 so on that a craftsman can depend upon to help him is in their view the largest determinant of productivity for craft enterprise.

By way of illustration let us look at a couple of cases so that we can see some of these generalizations as they apply to the lives of the people themselves.

463 KA'ANAMI, THE CALABASH MAKER Ka'anami lives in a compound with
592 four other people: his wife and infant daughter, his younger brother (same father,
159 same mother), and his father's older sister. The compound, although fully enclosed with grass mat walls, is next door to and opens into the compound of Ka'anami's father. Dolo, the younger brother, has his own farm plot on which he grows groundnuts for cash, and he makes a few calabashes now and then. The old woman, Palmatta, makes pots and cooks her own food. Dolo eats with his older brother, his father, or is given cooked food by the old woman. He used to help his father a great deal more than he does now but he still contributes now and then to both his father's and his brother's farm labor. He is doing much less of this at present and is instead contemplating marriage. He is discussing this with his brother who relays the information to their father. This involves the possibility of setting up his own household close by. Dolo still runs messages for his father and like Ka'anami feels that his father is head of a group of contiguous households within their ward of the village. Ka'anami has a "far-farm" or bush farm about three quarters of a mile south of Magumeri and three "house-farm" plots close to the hamlet of Fulongo, about two miles south of Magumeri, where he and his father used to live before the entire family moved to Magumeri. He generally harvests from twelve to fourteen bags of millet which he stores, and four to five bags of ground-nuts which he sells for cash.

To make calabashes Ka'anami buys dried half-gourds, then scrapes the ex-

To make calabashes Ka'anami buys dried half-gourds, then scrapes the excess
vegetable matter from the inside and burns designs on the outer surface with 463
hot irons. The tools are simple, merely a number of wood-handled iron blades 322
made by the local blacksmith. Add to this charcoal for the fire to heat the irons, 159
and the list of materials necessary for his occupation is complete. In the dry season [412]
when he is not planting Ka'anami makes about two calabashes a day on Fridays 463
and Saturdays—the two days before Magumeri's market day, on Sunday. On Monday, 159
Tuesday, and Wednesday he goes to other markets or makes calabashes on 433
commission for people who want special orders. On the average he makes about 322
fifteen calabashes per month for the four months of the wet season. For the dry 434
season he estimates that his productivity goes up to about twenty a month. This
means that on his own Ka'anami produces about 250 to 300 calabashes a year. If
this sounds like a lot, it must be remembered that he sells them for anything between
forty cents and seventy-five cents each. Subtract from this the cost of the
gourds (about fifteen cents each) and add the fact that some weeks he doesn't sell
all his wares, and it is easy to realize that the entire proceeds of Ka'anami's craftwork
do not produce much beyond $150 to $200 per year in income.

Ka'anami's father, his father's younger brother, and one of his father's 463
younger brother's sons, plus a man who for years has been a subordinate to 592
Ka'anami's father all live in adjoining compounds and all make calabashes. Each 159
compound is to a large extent independent, yet all originally were under the guidance
and direction of Ka'anami's father who considers himself the leader of this
group of households. If higher political authorities in the village wish to contact anyone
in this group they invariably do so through Ka'anami's father thus recognizing
his leadership and giving it legitimacy in the community.

In summary this way of productive life is far removed from the regular 463
eight-hour day of the industrial worker. Ka'anami could no doubt produce more 461
calabashes if he worked more rapidly and for longer hours and more days a week. 592
But he doesn't have to—his efforts support his family and himself, and Ka'anami 159
likes his life. He enjoys sitting in an entrance hut in his part of town with friends [433]
and relatives, people he has known all his life, talking, joking, gossiping, and moralizing
about rural events. Indeed even a casual brush with Ka'anami's life indicates
that he sits talking and resting in the shade for long periods of time. But he
works too, and when he does he often sits around a common fire at his father's entrance
hut with the other calabash makers talking or singing softly while each man
looks to his own hot irons and unfinished gourds. Even when he works alone in his
own compound or with his brother Dolo, friends come to visit him, or he dandles
his infant daughter on his lap while cleaning out a gourd. His family, his friends
and neighbors, and his fellow workers, are all interwoven into the pattern of his [182]
household life and his relation to the surrounding households. Thus the social and
economic side of Ka'anami's life is part of the same fabric—this is the human side
of cottage industry.

In the case below we see another household in which *tada njima* or client 463
apprentices are more prominent and yet many of the same kinds of social and economic 592
relations prevail. 571

MALA BUKAR, THE BUTCHER The butcher's craft, although lucrative 159
in relation to other activities like Ka'anami's or blacksmithing, is a low [554]
status occupation, and many butchers including Mala Bukar are quick to say that [253]

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592 their families were not butchers in times past but conditions have forced them
159 to "take up the knife." The craft requires anatomical knowledge of animals and a
● 571 skilled use of the knife to cut and clean them. Besides this it necessitates continu-
[253] ous relations with cattle owners, many of whom are Shuwa and Fulani nomads who
[554] wander through the area.

[177] Mala Bukar lives with his two wives, the younger of whom has a small child aged three, and two *tada njima* who are his apprentices. There are five huts in the compound, one each for the wives, one for Mala Bukar, one for the two apprentices, and one for meat storage. The apprentices are both unrelated to Mala Bukar by kinship, but both are the sons of butchers who are well known to him. The young boys explained that they wished to travel about the country before they settled down as butchers in their home villages. They treated Mala Bukar as they would their own father giving him all the subordination and respect due to a compound head. Mala Bukar's immediate neighbors, one to the north of him and one just to the east of him, are his younger brothers. One sells hides and skins, the other is a butcher and works closely with him although they generally butcher separately. They do, however, buy from nomads together, and often the younger brother looks after Mala Bukar's stall in the various markets they journey to together.
[428] The three brothers inherited their "house-farms" from their father. Mala Bukar—as the older brother who took over his father's household—took half while the
[241] other half was divided between the two younger brothers. Since then he has cleared one plot in free land far from town, and his apprentices are busy clearing a new one which Mala Bukar says is being cleared to replace an old one used for the last time several years ago (it is now fallow). The apprentices are also clearing small plots of their own near to the one they are preparing for the butcher and hope to get some extra cash from ground-nuts. Generally Mala Bukar estimates he obtained about ten bags (one ton) of millet and three bags (600 pounds) of ground-nuts.

[241] The farm work itself is done by Mala Bukar's two wives and his appren-
[464] tices who do not work together because it would be considered shameful for them to have to interact socially for any length of time. Mala Bukar decides on what is to be planted, when, and in what plots. He also decides on hoeing dates, and the time and scheduling of the harvest. The wives do less actual work in the field than many of their rural counterparts because of the apprentices, although they still take or send out cooked food to the boys during the hoeing season. Mala Bukar also
[434] gives his wives the hooves of slaughtered animals which they are able to sell for extra spending money.

463 The work schedule of the household is tied to the supply of Mala Bukar's
592 meat and local demands for it. During the dry season he slaughters mostly sheep
571 and goats while the rainy season which brings the cattle nomads is more heavily the
253 time for beef preparation. He almost always butchers on Saturdays, the day before
159 the village market day, and may do some more on Sunday if selling is brisk at the
434 market. During Sunday he hears about conditions in the villages close by that have
[221] markets on Monday and Tuesday. If demand there seems promising, or if he has
[572] unsold stock, he attends the Monday and Tuesday markets as well.

[221] Even with the apprentices, however, his turnover is not excessive. In the dry season he kills about four goats and/or sheep per week, and once in a while, usu-

ally about once a month, a beef-cow or bull. During the wet season he kills about 463
one or two beef cattle a week. He sells the meat by strips and a very rough 572
estimate of his income from the meat and the sale of the skin comes to approxi- 159
mately $450 per year. Most of the townspeople of Magumeri think of Mala Bukar 571
as one of the wealthiest of the village's permanent residents, leaving aside the sala- 253 434
ried officials sent out from the city who have been posted to Magumeri. However, 221
both as we observed it, and as Mala Bukar claimed repeatedly, people begged meat 463
from him continually for which he never received any money. In four weeks of al- 556
most continous observation I estimated he lost about ten percent of his meat this 431
way, although he claimed it was often much higher, ranging up to forty percent on occasion. Everyone agrees that that is the price of wealth, for the Kanuri believe that the proper use of wealth is its distribution to one's dependents and to the community at large in order that one may achieve fully the acclaim and prestige that wealth confers. If Mala Bukar hoarded his earnings to buy more animals and obtain more apprentices and thus increase his productivity, people would see him as a foolish man who was using his wealth unproductively. Kanuri wealth should be used to enhance and maintain status, and status is achieved through supporting and creating subordinates by giving away wealth.

Distribution

592
Kanuri households do not produce everything they consume and thus of ne- 433
cessity must obtain what they need from other sources in the community. Wives are 432
given market money weekly by their husbands to purchase ingredients for gruel as well as for their own needs. The household head, on his part, must purchase grain when his own supplies are short as well as clothing and supplies such as tools or firewood for the entire compound. Things made, produced, or purchased for trade by the household members must be sold or exchanged in order to obtain necessities not produced within the compound. This is the basic quality in Bornu out of which stems an elaborate and complicated system of trade that provides for the distribution of goods and services to those who need them, when they need them, in quantities they can afford.

Almost all households in rural Bornu, and many in the city as well, have 592
two main marketing tasks. First the cash crop, most often ground-nuts, must be 443
sold, and secondly the specialized production or services provided by the household 43
must be made available to the community. Let us go over each of these briefly and then move into the market cycle itself to see how the system operates as a whole.

During the harvest season from November to January men from the city appear at every major market village in Bornu. They bring scales with them and set up temporary huts close to the nearest motor road. When a household head harvests the crop, he takes it to these "scale men" and sells it by the bag. Government [656]
inspectors are on hand to check the scales daily and the quality of the nuts as well. The scale men generally bring cloth and other import items with them so that when a householder gets his cash he can spend some of it immediately thus giving the buyer a little extra profit. For the householder this may be the largest single payment

443 are scarce and fall again after harvest time, while many material items like jewelry,
438 clothes, etc., are just the opposite, going down in price when cash is scarce and
435 rising later when people have more money after the harvest.

The Organization of Trade

44 Looking at Bornu as a whole it is also important to see how trade is organized so that goods can move from one point to another as well as into and out of the society as a whole. The best terms to start with here are "retail" and "wholesale," since the Kanuri themselves see a distinction between selling to ultimate consumers as compared with selling to people who are in turn going to sell the item again. At the local level in a town like Magumeri trade is handled by retailers who sell uncooked foods, medicines, charms, medical services, building services, sundries, etc., directly to consumers and the local householders. Generally speaking goods produced locally are retailed locally, usually by the producers themselves. Thus Ka'anami sells his own calabashes, Mala Bukar his own meat, the blacksmith his own tools, and so on. However goods not produced locally such as salt, textiles, kola nuts, and European manufactured goods, are sold by wholesalers first to local retailers, then by these retailers to the local users. The wholesale relationships between buyers and sellers is a very important one and must be viewed close-up to be appreciated. Let us therefore look at it from the point of view first of the retailer, then a wholesaler, then a "financier" who uses his capital to support wholesale trade.

44 MOMADU, THE SALT SELLER Momadu is about sixty years old and has
159 lived in Magumeri for eight years. He comes originally from Hadejia to the west of Bornu where he began selling salt for an Arab trader when he was a teenager. The Arab gave him several bags of salt (100 pounds per bag) on trust, and he would sell it on the market in one-penny lots at a profit of a few shillings a bag for himself. After the salt was sold, he would pay back the Arab. Later he came to Bornu and was given credit by some of his father's brother's sons. However after a while they quarreled over the division of the profits from the salt selling, and he left this group and came to Magumeri. In Magumeri he asked the district head's wife to help him since she was known for her interest in trade. She arranged for one of her servants to go to the capital weekly and buy salt from the Levantine traders. She then distributed these to a number of people, including Momadu, who paid her when the salt was sold.

44 Later, when this woman moved away with her husband to another district,
159 Momadu obtained a connection with a wealthy trader in Maiduguri with the help
466 of the district head's wife. This trader sends out a follower each week with five
571 bags of salt and Momadu sells this by visiting local markets during the week. His relationship to his supplier is somewhat impersonal although they trust one another and Momadu pays his respects to his supplier when visiting the city. Momadu says he does not need a very close relationship to his supplier because he already is the *tada njima* or client-follower of Kachella Abba, the head dyer of Magumeri. Momadu has no wife so he eats at Kachella Abba's house, borrows money from him without interest, runs messages for him, and helps Kachella Abba on the latter's

farm. If Kachella Abba were to leave Magumeri, Monadu feels he would move 44
with him. This would not impair his relationship to the salt supplier since that 159
man lives in Maiduguri where he would still have to go to obtain wholesale salt. 466
He says Kachella Abba is his "father" and he would and must serve him and give 571
him respect even though the two men are nearly the same age.

BUKAR, THE "TADA NJIMA" Another example of retailing that shows how 443
it is often imbedded into a more general relationship is that of Bukar. Bukar can be 159
seen three or four days a week walking about the village of Magumeri with a tin of 571
cellophane-wrapped candies. One of the village's household heads goes in and out of 592
the city regularly on messages for the native administration. When in the city he buys a tin or two of candy and brings these back to Magumeri. The boy, Bukar, is about twenty years old; he is not related by descent or marriage to the senior man but lives in his compound and is fed and clothed by the household head. When the senior rides horseback in ceremonies the boy carries his spear and walks behind the horse; he gathers grass for the horse, runs messages for the household head, carries water for the household, and works on the household farm-plots. Receipts from the candy sale are given to the household head who then gives Bukar a small amount for himself. Here the retailing of candy is only one aspect of the relationship between Bukar and his household head. He refers to his superior, the household head, as *abba njima* or father of the house, and says of him, "He is just like my father."

AJIMI, THE KOLA NUT SELLER Next we see a wholesaler who sells di- 442
rectly to retailers in an ancient trade that has always allowed for middlemen by the 159
score because of the vast distances over which it is carried out. Ajimi is a young man of twenty-five or twenty-six who lives with his brothers in a small hamlet just outside Magumeri. For the six to nine months a year when farming is slack, and intermittently while he is farming, Ajimi sells kola nuts to local retailers. Ajimi gets the money from his father's older brother in the city and then buys a *kwando*, a large
rope wrapped package of nuts. A kwando costs about sixty to seventy dollars and [435]
contains roughly 7000 to 8000 nuts. He buys the nuts from traders in the city who [439]
ship them into Maiduguri from other parts of Nigeria and West Africa.

Ajimi visits three or four of these traders regularly about twice a month in 442
the dry season. He always goes to all of them, inspects their goods, talks prices, 437
and then decides where to place his order. He does this for two reasons. First there 159
is always some variety in price and quality and he must try to get the best he can of both. Secondly, by going to these same suppliers, among dozens of possible ones, he feels he can build up their confidence in him by selling his stuff well and steadily. Indeed, several of the suppliers have on occasion given him an extra kwando on credit and he kept the profits for himself.

Generally Ajimi brings the nuts back in time for Magumeri Sunday market 442
and attends the Thursday and Monday markets as well at nearby towns. He can sell 437
a kwando to retailers in about two weeks and make a profit of about thirty dollars, 452
half of which he gives to his father's older brother who supplied the original 159
money. Thus he makes about fifteen dollars for two weeks of wholesaling—if he is lucky and sagacious in his relations to retailers. Retailers can go to several suppliers like Ajimi. They decide on the basis of quality of the nuts, on the price, and whether they can obtain credit when they need it. The most flexible and negotiable of these is credit, and Ajimi has his most difficult time trying to compete on this

442 level and still make a profit. He will not give credit to strangers, but must have
437 done business with the man successfully or have some previous knowledge of him,
452 his family, his agnates, or any one else who would be responsible for him if he
159 were taken into court for a bad debt. Nevertheless, with each retailer taking about
two to four dollars worth of nuts it takes only a few bad debts to whittle away his
fifteen dollar profit into a loss, and he has had a number of these on which it took
[521] several later trips to recoup his losses. Ajimi, however, is very philosophical and
entertains his friends for hours telling stories about his bad debts to point up the
moral that a kola nut seller's life is not a happy one.

441 **Ajimi's uncle** Finally let us look at Ajimi's uncle, his father's
466 older brother who lives in the city and runs, because of his access to liquid capital, a
relatively large trading organization along traditional lines.

452 Ajimi's uncle is a man of fifty-five years who has three wives and a concu-
472 bine as well as a son and a younger brother's son living in his large compound in
571 Maiduguri. He generally has several *tada njima* living in the compound, and in the
592 near vicinity are those of his other married *tada njima* who are part of his organi-
159 zation.

His mode of operation is fairly simple; he gives out money to men like Ajimi to trade with, and then takes one half or more of the profits. Some of these men are connected by kinship to the uncle; others, indeed most of them, are not. Those who are not, start out in his compound as low status *tada njima;* they carry water, cut grass for the horses, run messages, and so on. For this they receive their food, shelter, clothing, and a little pocket money. If over a period of one to two years they prove respectable and trustworthy, Ajimi's uncle gives them some money and sends them out to trade, usually with someone more experienced at first, then on their own. The following list indicates both the range and number of his enterprises:

1. Two men buy millet in Geidam for sale in Maiduguri going to the Geidam market once every week or two.
2. One man sells cloth in Damasac. The cloth is supplied to him by Ajimi's uncle who buys it in larger quantities for sale in several places. This same man is given money to buy onions and ship them to Damasac where they are scarce and high priced.
3. One man buys fish at Abadan on Lake Chad and sells it in Maiduguri.
4. Another man buys natron in Bama (to the southeast of Bornu) for sale in Maiduguri.
5. Several (from one to three) buy cattle in Bornu and sell them in Kano.
6. Several (one to three) buy cattle in Bornu and sell them in Makurdi.
7. One man purchases butter in Damaturu (Fulani country) and sells it in Maiduguri.
8. One (Ajimi) sells kola nuts in Magumeri and used to buy ground-nuts for sale in the capital.

[434] The organization involves anywhere from eleven to sixteen men (the num-
ber varies over time) and their families, and probably involves a turnover of about
$1200 to $1500 per month with a maximum profit margin of anywhere from thirty
to forty percent on the investment. By Bornu standards Ajimi's uncle is a wealthy

man and can well afford his car, chauffeur, and new cement-block compound with 441
electricity and running water. Besides the scale of his operation which is quite large 466
relative to Bornu enterprise in general, his way of organizing things is also typically 452
Kanuri. Instead of an office building with secretaries, dictaphones, telephones, 472
the uncle has built up a series of relationships among a set of dependents. These 571 •
relationships are modelled on and grew out of exactly the same kinds of relations 592
that exist in the Kanuri father-son relationship within a Kanuri household. 159

The remainder of Bornu trade is handled through a system of small and 441
large companies. The large companies are European in origin, and until a few years 439
ago each handled as much of the trade as possible. Today these large enterprises 471
are increasingly African staffed, usually with southern Nigerians, and each tends to 177
specialize in a few particular lines of the export-import trade. Besides these large
enterprises there are small "canteens" (stores) run by Levantine traders and now
increasingly by Kanuri traders themselves. These shops obtain stocks from the larger
companies and sell to both consumers and wholesalers who hope to sell in smaller
quantities.

In recent years the pattern of local economic life has changed but little. 433
However, in the Bornu economy as a whole several new lines of development have 178
started that are a far cry from the past. To the north of the capital city of Maiduguri
in an area marked "industrial" on the provincial engineer's maps there is now [258]
a modern ground-nut oil mill and further to the east of this a large modern abattoir. [253]
In future years food processing and even manufacturing plants will appear in
this area of the city. Secondly, the capital city itself is experiencing a building [556]
boom as the wealthy replace old mud houses with new ones made of concrete block. [342]
This plus the continual expansion of government buildings has produced a lucrative
building trade. The local Bornu emirate government has in the past few years
decided to spread its contracts out among many aspiring young building contractors,
thus producing not one or two large companies but a growing number of
small entrepreneurs who are gaining experience in business. This has also led to a [339]
local expansion of the concrete block industry which can easily be set up along the
river where the sand is available and hand labor can be used in conjunction with
cheap steel molds for making the concrete block.

Finally wealthy Kanuri men in the political system and in trade are beginning [454]
to look at the possibilities of investment as a form of wealth production.
Some are buying property in the city for the rent income, or building on the land [472]
and then renting it; others or sometimes the same men are buying up adjoining
small farms to the southeast of the city and turning them into mango and lemon
orchards. One of these has even invested in a concrete block house at the back of
his orchard that he intends to turn into a modern chicken farm with imported hens
and roosters from the United States.

All of these developments seem to point away from household economy toward wages, urbanization, and the impersonality of western society in its workaday life. Will it happen? When will it happen? These are questions upon whose answer rests an entire way of life, for today the Bornu economy is essentially as described in this chapter yet these roots of change are growing points that are encouraged by the national and local leaders and by the western educational system. How much they will in fact transform the local life is a matter for future research.

ried he must decide where he will set up a house. There are three possible alterna- 591
tives: (a) he can bring his wife into the house of his father or older brother, or pa- 592
tron whoever the superior man might be; (b) he can set up his own compound close by; or (c) he can move further away and become independent or subordinate to someone else. The decision depends upon whether or not the young man is benefiting from the previous relationship, in which case he usually stays in or near the original compound, or whether he believes himself to be suffering from it, in which case he moves or tries to move away, or near to someone more powerful, influential, and economically beneficent with whom he can associate. The decision
is often a very complicated one because myriads of other factors enter into it. Thus [593]
if there is a large age discrepancy between a younger man and his older brother,
and the father is dead, the younger one may feel that his older brother will never treat him as a man but always as a "young boy." Or if there are brothers and some are full (same mother, same father) while some are half (only one parent in common) then the half brothers are less close and are usually linked to different groups of people through their mothers. One young man told me confidentially that he was worried about whether his father would continue to be successful and whether he should not try to use some of his father's powerful connections in Bornu to become the client of a more important person whose position was even more impressive and more secure than that of his own parents. On the other hand many people would speak about leaving home and setting up households on their own or under influential men and never seem to get around to doing it. When asked about this they replied that this was their home, these were their relatives, and whether it was beneficial or not they ought to stay with their kinsfolk. For them blood is thicker than water, that is to say, they feel their roots in a kinship unit must be the eventual determinant of where they spend their lives.

It is these processes of household growth, and associations between house- 621
holds, that underlie the formation of small-scale political units in Kanuri society. 592
The process can best be seen by observing a real life situation. About three miles [361]
southwest of Magumeri is the small hamlet of Gworongo (population circa [762]
250–300) which falls within the boundaries of Magumeri village area. Sur- [103]
rounding the hamlet are small bramble-fenced plots of a special crop called *gworon-* [276]
go which gives the hamlet its name. This plant is used by women as a stimulant and [302]
cosmetic along with tobacco flowers. In 1953 one of these farmers, a man named 621
Aji, moved out of the hamlet and set up a compound near his plots of gworongo. 592
He says he wished to be closer to his fields; others gossiped that he had quarreled 159
with the hamlet head of Gworongo over taxes. With him moved his two wives, a 571
younger brother, and the latter's wife, and two unmarried sons. One of these sons left about a year later to go and live in Maiduguri with his father's younger brother. The other son married in 1957 and brought his wife to live in the compound near his father. A stranger to Gworongo hamlet arrived in 1954 and cut a bush farm for himself about one mile to the north of the settlement. He had no wife at the time and asked Aji if he could build a hut near the new settlement and take his meals in Aji's compound. For this hospitality he helped Aji on the *gworongo* plots, prepared household fences, and sometimes gathered grass for Aji's horse. He has since married with both a loan and some gifts from Aji and is now a settled member of the new "community-in-the-becoming." He says that Aji is his *abba njima,* and he is a tada njima or client of the settlement head.

622 and he is a *tada njima* or client of the settlement head. All residents of this new
159 settlement look upon its founder as their local leader. Disputes between members
578 are always taken to Aji before going to any higher authorities while disputes with
627 outsiders follow the general Bornu rule of going first to a political leader superior
692 in rank to both participants. The new settlement does not have a name; however in
all likelihood if it continues to grow and Aji's place is taken by one of his heirs,
103 either his brother or his son, it will be called Aji or Ajiri after its founder. At
651 present Aji collects taxes from the men of the new community, and these are taken
by the hamlet head of Gworongo to the head of Magumeri village area. Aji hopes
622 that one day he will be able to take the taxes directly to Magumeri, thus helping to
159 indicate his equal political status to that of the hamlet head of Gworongo. When
621 that happens he will be a recognized bullama or head man of a hamlet or ward. He
627 tries to take disputes directly to Magumeri village, but in 1957 this was not accepted
692 and the hamlet head of Gworongo was invariably called to sit in on such
discussions.

The same process can be seen operating in larger villages. In Magumeri village
itself one ward under its bullama (ward or hamlet head) was, in 1957, becoming
large enough so that people were beginning to speak of the possibility of
its splitting into two under the old bullama and a new one. In the ward a man
592 named Kachella has under his authority the compounds of several younger full
brothers, three of his sons two of whom are married, several nephews, and a few
571 unrelated clients who say they are his *tada njima*. He collects taxes from these compounds
651 and takes the money directly to the village head of Magumeri. However he
recognizes the authority of the present ward head in settling disputes and always
692 consults the latter first before taking the matter to a higher authority. One of his
592 sons has married a girl from the household of the ward head and this helps link
the two households. The ward head seems tolerant of the rising power and influence of his neighbor and always consults him on any major decision affecting the ward. Eventually however, if the set of linked households under the authority of Kachella continues to expand, then he will become a recognized bullama of his own ward of the village and the office will be passed on to his heirs.

632

The Village Area

621 The village area in Bornu includes a major settlement which gives the area
622 its name and a set of surrounding smaller hamlets that are included within the political
boundaries of the village area. Thus Magumeri village area includes the village of Magumeri and a series of little hamlets in the surrounding countryside. As we have seen, smaller villages are divided into wards under bullama and the hamlets surrounding the village each have their own bullama as well. In other words all recognized political leaders under a village area head are called bullama. The head of a village area, that is, the political superior of all bullamas in the village
633 area is called the *lawan*. However the system is flexible and a few large cities such
as the capital city of Maiduguri, as well as several other centers with populations over 10,000, have several lawan, each in his own ward of the city. Under these city lawan are sub-wards again under the bullama. Thus the traditional nineteenth-cen-

tury system of a flexible hierarchy described in Chapter 2 in which the number and authority of political offices can expand with the settlement size is still recognized and practiced. 632 [62] [622]

In Magumeri village area one lawan is responsible for the administration of the entire area. All permanent residents in the area, when asked who their local leader is, reply, "We are the commoners of Lawan Mina. We are his people." This does not apply, or at least applies less, to those persons who live locally and are themselves higher in the political hierarchy than lawan or are local representatives of the emirate civil service departments. They have their own political superiors and are responsible to others besides the lawan. Thus they give their taxes to lawan [651] because they live in Magumeri, and he must collect the village tax, but a dispute [692] between one of these men and a peasant would be adjudicated at a higher level in the political hierarchy than that held by lawan.

In his own part of town the lawan acts as his own ward head. Many of the compounds in the ward are reserved for his own followers. In Magumeri this includes the lawan's own compound with his four wives, married son and grandchildren, several clients and his aged mother. Some twenty followers consider themselves the active supporters of lawan under his chief follower or *wakil*. Each of these men have their own compounds near that of lawan or at least in his ward. They receive economic aid from him in the form of food, clothing, and money as well as a recognized role as a member of his retinue. Peasants often ask one of these followers to intercede with the lawan on their behalf, or to help in arranging a meeting between parties to a dispute with the lawan as the judge. 632 622 621 592 571

This retinue of followers who are called collectively by a special name (*waladi*) are linked together under the lawan and serve as his administrative staff. They keep in touch with gossip, aid in collecting taxes, act as contact men for anyone wishing to see him, help him on his farm plots, and carry messages for him. When he travels, several of these men are always with him on horse and on foot, and give him the appearance of being what he is—a man a cut above the common citizenry of the village area—a local official of the kingdom whose title is conferred officially by the Shehu himself. Indeed today his is the lowest rung of the political hierarchy that is recognized as a salaried job in the emirate. 632 571 621 [642]

This entire administrative organization of the lawan can easily be discerned by asking the people of his ward whether they would move to another village if he were transferred or dismissed. There are quite a large number in the ward who would remain. These are not his followers but they do regard him as the leader of their ward and like everyone else in the emirate they see him as the official leader of their village area. They have seen several lawans come and go, and if this particular lawan were to continually overstep the limits of his authority, they would not be averse to making some complaints about him to his superiors. Thus their good will and support must be solicited by the lawan. Indeed such a check on his authority applies to all the people in the village area. Another check which any person in the area has over the lawan is the possibility of migration. Any person is free to move away from the village area into another whenever he wishes, and a serious migration out of some political unit weakens the leadership and is almost always interpreted as a sign of faulty administration by superiors in the emirate government. [692] [166]

632 The lawan's son in Magumeri, like many others whose fathers have positions
593 of authority, wisely avoids any active leadership in his father's administration.
[873] His job as the adult education organizer for a literary campaign in the entire district
keeps him traveling much of the time, and he never interferes with the political
organization which he may one day inherit. His father, on the other hand, is
one of the few enthusiastic supporters of adult education and enforces the program
vigorously in Magumeri since he knows this will help his son's career in the Bornu
632 emirate government. If and when the son should ever replace his father, or gain
593 some political office elsewhere in the kingdom, he would recruit many of his subordinates
571 from the households of his father's followers. Thus superior-subordinate
626 relations are often continued down the generations. Some fall by the wayside because
182 there are always more potential followers available than needed, as the households
66 of followers expand with their own children and clients. However since the son may choose any one within or beyond his father's administration he can insist on only the best performance and the most loyalty from those chosen. On the other hand, should the son not obtain his father's position, and not succeed in any other way in the political or economic life of Bornu, then his father's followers will begin to see that they must find places elsewhere for the younger members of their own households. When this happens the continuity of lawan's administration down the generations begins to disintegrate. This process is repeated at every level of the political hierarchy and lies near the core of political life in Bornu.

632 On a day-to-day basis the most important matters, especially in rural areas like Magumeri, are taken to the lawan. As we have seen in Chapter 5 he is a central figure in transferring land, using his office as a sort of registry for local land negotiations. He witnesses many marriages and divorces, and arbitrates disputes among those under his jurisdiction. Indeed most of the people living in Magumeri feel more secure about a decision they have made that might affect their neighbors if the matter is ratified and witnessed by a person in authority. Thus if a man in
[621] Magumeri village wishes to move his compound walls and expand his dwelling
space, he speaks to his ward head about it, and they both go to the lawan to report
the intended action. The lawan asks one or two of his followers to find out if the
[692] contiguous neighbors object, and if so on what grounds. If there is no objection the
action is ratified; if some are forthcoming, then a judicial hearing results in which
632 the lawan hears the case. What this means is that for almost everyone in Bornu,
182 especially in the rural areas, an enormous number of everyday activities are taken through the political system when relations between households are at issue. This in turn means that the political system is close to and very involved with the daily lives of the people.

632 As a salaried official of the emirate government, the lawan collects taxes
651 from all men over eighteen in the village area. This is based on property assessments
626 of their capital in cash and kind for that particular year. Over-taxing is common
692 in rural areas where the people are illiterate, and even when it is not done, the taxpayers believe it is common. If the over-taxing is too burdensome, it is known that complaints against the lawan to higher officials in Bornu can bring at least an investigation and perhaps lead to his dismissal.

000 There is no doubt that the lawan can punish people for not recognizing his

There is no doubt that the lawan can punish people for not recognizing his
authority. It is this kind of knowledge that make people aware that they must be 632
sensitive to customary demands made of them by a lawan which if not complied 689
with could bring punitive actions from his use of authority. Let me illustrate this 578
by summarizing an interesting case from field notes: 692

> Bukar is a newcomer to Magumeri. He has been given some land by the lawan 632
> and when not farming plies his trade as a hat-maker, and mud house builder. 689
> Because he had no previous social ties in the village he has attached himself to 578
> the Arabic teacher of the primary school who is a highly respected religious practitioner. 692
> This attachment appeals to Bukar because of his strong personal fears 159
> of supernatural malevolence. The Arabic teacher gives Bukar a place in the [571]
> social relations of the village, plus free charms and medicines for illness and bad luck. Bukar looks after the teacher's house, repairs it, cleans it up periodically, and watches it during the latter's absence.
>
> On one of these occasions during the teacher's absence Bukar borrowed some matting from his mentor for use within his own compound. The lawan in whose house there was to be a naming ceremony needed some extra mats for temporary shelters. He sent a follower over to the Arab teacher's compound to borrow some of the extra mats that were stocked there. These were taken, and Bukar was asked what had become of the rest of the mats. Bukar answered that he had borrowed them and that he was in charge of watching the teacher's possessions during the latter's absence. He refused to produce the matting in his own compound and was brought to the lawan where his defiance was rewarded by the lawan telling him that unless he produced the extra matting so that they could be borrowed by the lawan, then he (Bukar) was no better than a common thief. Bukar still refused and the matter was dropped.
>
> When the teacher returned, the lawan complained to him of the disobedience and lack of respect of his man, Bukar. The teacher said nothing, but instead of reprimanding Bukar sent him to fetch back the mats borrowed by the lawan (the ceremony was now over). In so doing he indicated his support of his client, Bukar, against his fellow upperclass member in the town, namely the lawan.
>
> Several months later Bukar was involved in a case against a Fulani nomad 632
> herdsman whose cows had strayed into one of his farm plots and eaten his millet. 685
> The case came before the lawan who ruled that, although the Fulani had pulled 689
> a knife on Bukar (a serious offense requiring a fine), it was Bukar who had 578
> started the fight, and it was this act that had caused the cow to wander over 692
> Bukar's field and devour his as well as another man's crops, besides causing the 159
> argument which made the Fulani pull a knife. Bukar was then fined heavily for starting a fight, fined for the other man's crops, and given an extra fine of five shillings which was to be paid to the district head. Bukar reports that his crops were already eaten before the fight started and besides this he and everyone else knows that pulling a knife during a fight is a separate offense from the fight itself and must be treated as such in court, and the Fulani was not fined for this misdemeanor.
>
> In discussing the matter Bukar's senior, the teacher, explained that lawan was angry at Bukar for his behavior over the mats and was adjudicating against him for this reason. When Bukar finally raised the money for the fine, he was told by the teacher to give the money to the lawan and to say that he, Bukar, was a small, insignificant, poor peasant. He was further instructed to tell the lawan that if there was any help that the lawan needed in house building, he (Bukar) would be pleased to offer his services. The teacher also cautioned Bukar about the future.

634 general, the Shehu must feel he has gained a loyal supporter and any suspicion to
the contrary would bar an eligible contender from the position. The same applies
[645] in the case of members of the Shehu's council and especially its chairman, the Waz-
634 iri. People say that would-be applicants give gifts, attempt to link themselves by
662 marriage, and in general ingratiate themselves with the Shehu and his councilors
who play the major part in such decisions; however such things are not easy to ob-
serve directly. On the other hand several people have told me that they regularly
visit influential men in the city bringing gifts of cash and foodstuff and generally
paying their respects to these men in the hopes that one day when a proper vacancy
occurs, they will obtain the office of lawan. In other words this traditional mode of
soliciting an appointment is admitted to for the office of lawan.

634 In the district capital the district head's house is always at the east end of
592 the town plaza and is the most impressive compound in the village. The compound
[342] is regarded as emirate property and can only be used while the incumbent is in
[361] office after which time he must move out. In addition each district head has his
own compound in the royal ward of Maiduguri in the capital with a residing chief
subordinate (*wakil*) who appears at official state functions in the Shehu's court to
634 represent his superior. In his rural area the district head has a large group of fol-
592 lowers who live in his own compound and the surrounding vicinity. These men
571 form a group of linked households under their leader, the chief follower of the
district head who serves as his deputy in the latter's absence. In Magumeri a few of
these followers have been recruited during their own lifetime, but most of them are
the sons of men who have always been followers of this district head and his father
before him.

634 At first glance these followers are indistinguishable from ordinary peasants
571 except for the fact that some of them have expensive looking horses given to them
by the district head. They help collect nomad cattle taxes, run messages for the dis-
trict head, and never fail to ride in honor of their leader on special ceremonial oc-
casions or when an important visitor has come to town. Most important they must
be willing to leave town or move to another place whenever their superior is sta-
tioned elsewhere, while peasants are most often linked by social relations with a
particular spot. These men have only one allegiance—that of subordination, disci-
634 pline and respect to their superior, the district head. Thus they are never fully
571 trusted by the more permanent local residents. Indeed younger members of the dis-
578 trict head's following are often feared as well as mistrusted. They have no farms,
no wives, and no households of their own. They talk, play cards, drink, look for
amorous experiences in the local area, and are felt to be spies for the district head.
When such men approach a group of peasant menfolk, the conversation suddenly
stops, then slowly begins again on a note of pleasant but iridescent chit-chat in
which nothing really serious or informative about local affairs is ever mentioned.
Although the hierarchy of lawan and bullama under a district head is his official
administrative organization in the district, his followers form an unofficial organi-
zation to execute his policies. Unlike the lawan and bullama they are totally depen-
dent upon him for support and status in the society. In return they give him the
prestige that comes from having a large retinue of followers. They also organize
634 his tax collections, act as messengers, and sometimes they are even used to disci-
571 pline lawans who are not complying with administration demands. Thus one lawan
578 complained to a district head that he could not raise the tax assessment for his vil-
632

lage area. The district head sent out his followers who gathered about fifty percent 634 632
more than the original assessment and the lawan was then chastised and sent back 571
with the warning that he must comply in the future with directives from the dis- 578
trict head.

District heads' followers are outside the usual jurisdiction of those lower in 634
the hierarchy such as the lawan. When they must be disciplined, or brought to 571
court, they go directly to the district head or less often to the district judge by-pass- 692
ing the judicial authority of the lawan. Peasants seeking retribution for bad debts, 578
adultery, or some other malfeasance committed by a district head's follower must 661
then take the matter before the district head. This is the test of a district head's justice, and often he forces his followers to repay bad debts or fines, even though he himself is probably the one who will eventually pay the fine by advancing the money to his follower. In one case a district head publicly reprimanded one of his followers, paid his fine, then privately threatened to stop supporting this follower as his client for having burnt down a peasant's hut while drunk when the peasant refused to allow his wife to be molested by the follower. A district head who continually protects his own followers against the peasants develops a reputation as a tyrant and an inefficient administrator. Given the present government it is difficult to hide bad administration since complaints by peasants to touring officials usually provide information to people higher up in the political organization concerning the activities of a district head and his organization.

As suggested above there is sometimes a strain in the relations between a 632
district head and the various lawans who head up the village areas within the dis- 634
trict. Formally he relays directives from the capital to them in their village areas 578
and they are supposed to carry out these policies. However the district head needs 661
cooperation, often for necessary but somewhat semi-illicit activities and thus needs people he can trust in leadership positions within the district. On his side the lawan is semi-independent because he is a salaried official. District heads are constantly trying to win the affection and loyalty of their lawans, or if necessary to get them expelled, or wait until they retire and then have the office filled by one of their own loyal followers. Because district heads are constantly being retired, dismissed, or transferred from one district to another, each new district head is confronted with a number of lawans who are the loyal followers of predecessors who were district heads in the area.

The records of turnover of lawans, especially in the district capital, where they must see the district head continually, show that in general lawans are dismissed or retired most often shortly after the arrival of a new district head. The case of one lawan in Magumeri illustrates this very common occurrence. From 1921 to 1929 a lawan in Magumeri village area was a follower of the district head of Magumeri District. In 1929 a new district head arrived and suddenly the quality of reports by colonial officials changed. Whereas before this man was reported to be cooperative, intelligent, hard-working, and competent, he was now unpopular with the people, there was much emigration from his village area due to heavy taxation, and he was disrespectful to those in authority. In 1933 he was suspended by the Shehu, and a younger brother of the new district head was appointed to the lawan's office for the Magumeri village area. Examples like this are extremely common in the history of all the districts right up to the present time.

As in the example above there is a tendency for the district heads to ap- 000

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

As in the example above there is a tendency for the district heads to ap-
632 point younger brothers to the post of lawan within their own districts. However
634 this has its limits. In one case a lawan confidentially asked the British officials if he
593 could be moved to a district away from the hegemony of his older brother, the dis-
66 trict head. That same year (1935) there were a great many complaints by the peas-
[648] ants directed to British officials about the harshness of this particular district head's administration. He was warned but did not comply and was later dismissed. The younger brother sensed that trouble was brewing for the older brother and decided it would be more advantageous to his own career if he could move to another district and not get caught up in the difficulties his brother was creating by his lack of good administration. One district head remarked that he had tried to appoint his own brother in a previous district as lawan, but the young man had done a very bad job and it proved impossible for the district head to control him. The younger brother was finally deposed by the emirate government after his older brother was transferred to a new district. Later he came to his older brother in the latter's new district, hoping for another job as lawan in his brother's administration. However the older brother has no intention of doing so because, as he says, this younger brother is a bad man who oppresses his villagers when he gets a chance and this reflects back on the district head. Thus in Bornu the loyalty of brothers is ameliorated in the political system by the requirements of office.

634 As we have already noted, local representatives of the various Bornu Native
647 Authority (emirate government) departments are stationed in the district capitals. These include people like the district chief scribe who keeps the books on revenue collection, the district judge, the school teachers, some native authority policemen, veterinary, forestry, and agricultural department representatives and so on. The list varies in length from district to district, but there is a general tendency for it to lengthen through time as the departments expand their programs and services. These officials are paid salaries and live in the district capital although they often
647 get shifted from one district to another. Thus only one of these officials in Magum-
565 eri had been there for longer than four years and almost all of them had lived in at least three district capitals during the past ten years. They view themselves as a class apart from the local people; they are city bred or at least city educated; they share a common interest in state and national politics; and their mobility orients them to each other rather than to people outside the civil service. When asked who
[571] their best friends are they invariably mention other members of the emirate's civil service. Thus they form a class of urban cosmopolitans on the rural scene.

647 Their relations to the district head are complex and in some ways similar to
634 that of the district head to his lawans when these latter are appointees of a pre-
571 vious district head. The native authority official is not necessarily a follower of the district head, and he does have a separate salary. Usually the official and the district head maintain a respectful but carefully measured social distance from one
[565] another. The local officials are often asked to eat at the compound of the district head which emphasizes their common urban upper-class membership and separateness as a group from the rural population. However, they generally do not become members of the district head's following. They have their own careers to follow, and though friendship with the district head is useful, it could also impede their success because of demands made upon them by the district head which might conflict with those of their own departmental superiors in the capital.

On the other hand the local official must work through the district head if 647
he wishes to carry out his job successfully. Children are ordered into the district 634
school through the district head's office. Forestry reserves are set up by his directive; 571 •
cattle are rounded up by him. Indeed almost any action involving a response
by the people in the district must come originally from the district head. A lawan,
if approached for cooperation by civil service employees, would generally refuse to
cooperate if he had not been first notified by the district head's office. The district
head is a high official of the state while the native authority employee is generally
the lowest status field representative of his department. Thus they pay the district [554]
head respect, stand up when he approaches them, take off their shoes before entering [576]
his compound, and consult him on programs they wish to have carried out in
his district.

On his part the district head quickly establishes who the native authority officials are, and what families they come from or are connected to in the emirate. If the district head is closely connected by friendship and political alliance to a high-placed official in the local representative's department, then he may have an avenue of control over this local person through the latter's own superior. On the other hand the native authority employee may be connected with the powerful people in the emirate and the district head then knows that this particular official could possibly bring powerful forces into action if a situation warranted it.

The relationships of the district head to the capital are highly complex and 634
result from the fact that he is the official link between the central government of 647
the emirate and the local political organization of the district. Officially he is responsible
to only one body, the central agency of the emirate government which is 645
the Shehu-in-Council. This council, called the Bornu Native Authority Council,
under the chairmanship of the Waziri or chief minister, is the highest authority in
the emirate. As we noted in Chapter 2, the council acts like a cabinet and each
member has a Native Authority department under his direction. District heads receive
instructions about policy from the council and directives about programs
from each of the departments. The district head delivers taxes to the Native Authority [651]
Treasury and must account for his actions to the council which has a major [652]
voice in appointing, dismissing, retiring, and transferring district heads from high
to low-paying districts or vice versa.

Both during the colonial period and at the present, the Bornu Provincial 631
Government has had several emirates under its jurisdiction, of which Bornu is the 634
largest. Although not officially responsible to the Provincial Government, the district 642
head and his work have always been inspected periodically by touring officers
of the Provincial Government. These men can make recommendations which
influence the emirate government and during colonial times there are a number of
records of district heads being retired or dismissed because of the "advice" of Provincial
Government officials. Thus the district head has to be sure his actions are in [648]
line with the demands and standards of provincial officials who are today generally
from other parts of Northern Nigeria, and were, up to a few years ago, the
British colonial officers.

The district head has other links with the capital as well. As we have already 634
noted, he keeps a household in the palace ward of the capital city, and his 571
followers in his compound under a wakil, or chief follower, visit the palace regu- 592

634 larly as his representatives. The wakil also makes regular visits to important emirate
571 leaders and tries to maintain a constant check on political developments in the capital
592 and the emirate as a whole. Through this organization and through the giving of gifts and hospitality to visitors and messengers from the capital, as well as cultivating high placed friends, the district head maintains and builds up a communication network through which he obtains a many-sided picture of events in the capital.

634 District heads are also linked to the capital by their membership in factions
64 that help to make up the political life of the emirate. In pre-colonial times these
665 factions grew out of the allegiance of nobles to the various segments of the royal
578 lineage. This indeed was the reason the succession disputes to the throne could turn
[175] into bloody civil wars. These same traditional factions still exist today, but there have been added new ones which involve close alliances between very powerful men in the emirate government. These reflect the weakened authority of the Shehu, and the increase in power and authority of the Native Authority officials in the top positions of the emirate government. District heads linked to more powerful factions receive better information about the course of emirate politics and more protection when they need it than those related to weak ones. Thus one district head might be linked to a member of the royal family who has no official position in the Native Authority and who has little hope of gaining the throne; another might be closely linked to the Waziri or chairman of the Bornu Native Authority Council. The latter district head, because of his factional membership, is in a much stronger position in the emirate political organization as a whole than is the former. These links to the center both official and unofficial must be carefully developed and
[177] maintained by a district head. This is especially true when it is realized that a district head like any other member of the Bornu political system operates within two cultural orientations—one western and the other traditional Kanuri. The district
[662 head should give gifts to subordinates, to his faction leaders, and to many other
431 powerful people in the state. From a western point of view these can be seen as
829] bribes, while from a Kanuri vantage point they may be looked upon as obligatory and legitimate recognition by the district head of the power and protection that can be wielded by his superiors in the central government of the emirate. Since such expenses are not provided for in the district head's official salary, the means by which he obtains the wealth to make such gifts often involves breaking rules according to strict western civil service standards, although again such activities might be considered legitimate by local tradition.

634 The central focus of this behavior revolves around tax collection. The dis-
651 trict head is seen in western terms to be an agent of government who collects taxes
578 and is paid a salary for this and other services. However, he needs to maintain a
66 large following who are not provided for by government if he is going to collect nomad cattle taxes. These men must ride out over the entire district—often several thousand square miles—to collect the tax. To keep these men as his tax collectors he needs much more revenue than his own salary. If he does not collect the tax, or enough taxes, he will be punished by dismissal or transfer to a smaller less prestigious district. He has very little choice; in order to keep his own organization going and to maintain friendly contact at the center by gift-giving, he must take some of the district's tax revenue for himself. This makes him vulnerable at all times; to comply with some demands which are deemed important he must break others

areas. Their goals are almost universally to obtain more qualifications and to advance 647 453 [829] in the civil service to higher paid jobs with more authority and prestige.

Recruitment into the departments can be carried out in a variety of ways. An application can be sent to the Native Authority Council or the relevant departments in writing. People seem to think this is not an effective way of obtaining a position, and it is rarely practiced. Another way is to obtain new recruits from among the school graduates of the secondary schools. This is becoming more and 647 557 more common as time goes on, however it is a highly impersonal technique and thus not attractive to many in the community who still feel that they must have some private, personal relationship with their superiors-to-be before they can obtain any rewards for themselves. Thus it is widely believed that such personal relationships are the primary requisite to enlistment in the civil service, given that the educational qualifications are satisfactory. Thus one young man working in the Native Authority civil service explained it this way:

> If you want a job in the . . . department, one of your relatives should find the name of a person in the department who is known to help people. Your relative then goes to greet him in the evening and gives him some money and perhaps other gifts. The man who can help then tells your relative to come back at such and such a time and he will let him know the result. Then he will try to find a job in the department, probably by using some of the money your relative gave him. Then the job is yours and you are an employee of the Native Authority . . . sometimes it takes a long time.

Certainly young boys with higher educational qualifications have less difficulty obtaining jobs, but as the educational system increases the numbers of its graduates at upper levels, then places in the Native Authority will become less available, and so this particular method of recruitment will in all likelihood remain for some time to come.

The emirate civil service departments have two standards that employees 647 466 must maintain at all costs. First, they must be competent at their job, and the leaders of the emirate are always interested in raising such levels. Job re-training schemes, and trips by senior department members to other parts of Nigeria or even overseas are becoming more and more common. Secondly, there must be loyalty and obedience to the department. This is traditional and involves the same kind of be- 647 havior we have observed in all community relationships involving superiors and 466 subordinates, starting with the household and moving out into the society as a 571 whole. 576 However departments are too large for very intimate contacts and some of the impersonality of modern bureaucracy has entered to make relations somewhat unpredictable. One young man complained that in his department it is essential to dress less well than one's superior or one would be considered overly ambitious, threatening, and untrustworthy. On the other hand it is also important not to dress too poorly or people in authority would consider one a wastrel who spends his money on women, praise-singers, and drink. Again it is, according to many of the younger men, difficult to transfer from one department to another. To transfer, a formal application must be made to one's own department superiors and to the Native Authority Council; if a release is granted, then a further application to some other department can be submitted. Those reporting this procedure said it was

647 practically impossible since it meant rejecting your own superiors, not your job,
466 and it would be similar to someone in a household saying he was fed up when he
571 decided to leave. Thus in Kanuri cultural terms, changing a job means rejecting the
576 people with whom one works, and young men claim they would be considered ingrates and trouble-makers if they were to attempt such a thing. Transfers, if they are to be accomplished at all, must be done through relatives and friends who can "visit at night" with the appropriate people and explain the ins and outs of the case so that things can be arranged on this personal basis first before any impersonal bureaucratic procedures are utilized.

647 On the surface the emirate civil service looks very westernized. There are
466 offices, typewriters, clerks, officials, expense vouchers, committees, memoranda, telephones,
571 employee organizations, etc. However within the service, traditional patterns
576 of association are still very strongly observed. A man lifts the telephone and
178 traditional greetings and modes of address to a superior flow forth and color the conversation. People leave their shoes outside a superior's office, and so on. Under
[179] these superficial cultural acts there are other things as well. "Big men" (senior officials) have large compounds linked to a number of clients who live either in their households or close by. Some of these subordinates have positions in the civil
[667] service. Others form part of this big man's own group of followers; he must be approached through this group and he uses it to maintain his position and prestige in the state. It is also important to understand that the western concept of loyalty to
[663] an ideal of public service is not widespread as yet. Top leaders are committed to the maintenance of order in a just society that is becoming more modern. Within the Native Authority, department loyalties are to one's superiors and personal advancement is through loyalty and generalized obedience, just as it always has been in Kanuri society, and not to an abstract ideal of public service and bureaucratic efficiency. This does not mean that rationalized bureaucratic behavior will not become more common in Bornu. Indeed everything we know about modernization suggests that this is inevitable. However, it does mean that at present the society is not divided into strict sectors, one labelled modern or western, the other traditional. Instead, each of these permeates the other so that everything new and modern is shot through with traditional culture, and everything traditional has aspects of the modern.

642

Representative Government

634 For most intents and purposes the political organization of the emirate is carried out within the system of offices and agencies described above. However there are today the bare bones of some other kinds of organization that are quite
634 likely to prove important in the future. During the 1950s and continuing on to the present time, each district has had a local district council. This body is made up of members from all over the district, sometimes the village area heads, sometimes people appointed by them. They meet only a few times a year for one or two days under the chairmanship of the district head and discuss local affairs. These meet-
634 ings are generally attended as well by members of the departments of local govern-
652 ment from the capital. The councils have a budget based on a small proportion of

105 121 182 592 829 44 571 What about larger organizations like the emirate political hierarchy and the trading organizations based on stores or canteens, that is to say, modern business enterprises? These obviously contain people who are not members of the same household. Certainly this is true, but often, as in the trading organizations, junior clerks in the store did at one time live in the household of the store owner or still do live there. Much more important, the Kanuri claim, is the fact that the proper way to behave in a political or economic hierarchy is the way one behaves in a household organization or a set of linked households. The junior in the organization gives *bərzum* (or discipline-respect) to his superior and in return he receives the benefits of membership, that is to say, he receives a social and political status, protection, and economic gain, for the loyalty and obedience which he delivers to his superior. This to the Kanuri is the most important single behavior in social life. It is learned in the household and then used to link households and individuals together in all of the organizations that are important in the society as a whole. The inference here is that the society is basically and essentially hierarchical—one in which most relationships are of a superior-subordinate variety—and indeed this is true except for friendship groups that do not, however, carry on many of the fundamental activities in Bornu.

105 121 178 [648] It is because this underlying unity is still so firm and central a feature of Kanuri social life that I have not stressed the fact that my trips to Bornu straddle the historic fact of Nigerian independence. Political independence has brought no change in the way in which the bulk of the Kanuri organize their social life and live out the contents of their daily lives in their households, their villages, and their emirate. These modes of behaving have ancient roots in the area, and independence has not witnessed any widespread attempts to change things or to create new modes of organizing the social life of the emirate. Top administrators are now Nigerians, not British colonial officials, but what and how they administer in Bornu is roughly the same as it was in the pre-independence era of the 1950s. When I spoke to some of the leaders of the emirate in 1965 about their understanding of changes that might occur in the political system or the way in which the emirate was organized, they commented that the system was efficient and could serve as a stable, trustworthy form of local political organization through which any changes might come and still keep Bornu as a viable entity for a long time in Nigeria's future.

[177] What is different today, and different only in degree, is the commitment to modernization on the part of top leadership and the initiative they are willing to show in this regard. The leaders are committed whole-heartedly to expanding western education, obtaining better health services, and decreasing disease. They also hope to increase productivity in agriculture and introduce the beginnings of industrialization into Bornu. Steps are being taken in all directions, and only the future can tell what of the past will actually enter into a future that at least on the surface seems in its ultimate goal to be so different from the majestic past and the present of the Kanuri of Bornu.

There is still another way to become part of a large
592 369 household. This is the most informal of the various sets of relationships,
and is particularly characteristic of the larger
towns and cities. In the villages, a man who is a talaka can
always clear new land, farm industriously, marry, and establish
592 369 874 463 his own household. In the larger towns and cities, it is extremely
difficult to make one's fortune without the help of
some protector. Consequently it becomes imperative for a
571 young man recently come to the city to find such a protector,
and when he does he becomes part of that man's household. Craftsmen
and traders form the bulk of the specialists in the towns
and cities, but how is a young man to learn a trade, or to get
his start in commerce? He does so by becoming attached to the
household of a craftsman, a leather-worker or dyer, where he
begins by performing menial tasks of various sorts and where he
eventually learns that trade. Or he becomes part of the household
of a wealthy trader, where once again he performs common
household tasks until he has demonstrated his trustworthiness
and his willingness to work hard. The master of the house will
then begin to entrust him with increasingly more important tasks,
until he becomes the trusted agent of his master, dealing in
large sums of money and given important responsibilities. Throughout
this time he is referred to as tata njima, son of the house.
592 In households made up of more than the simple nuclear family,
609 tata njima form the largest single category of individuals. The
571 relationship between tata njima and the kəmanzə fatobe is conceived
of, and patterned after the kinship relationship between

592 father and son, though of course kinship has nothing to do with
609 setting up that relationship in the first place. In this sense,
571 the household functions like a kin group but is not itself a
product of kinship.

592 The Kanuri do not hire servants, nor do they typically hire
461 other Kanuri to work for them. A man's labor is not for hire,
571 to be paid for in cash. Though the Kanuri have long used money in commercial dealings, its use has never been extended to labor. One man works for another because that is part of his obligation which grows out of their relationship. A tata njima works for the master of the household, not for any immediate payment such as wages, but because the relationship between a tata njima and his master entails labor on the part of the tata njima. Not only is he expected to perform any task asked of him by the household head, he is also expected always to act in the interests of the household head, and constantly to protect those interests. Tata njima who are part of the household of a trader help him in the distribution and sale of his goods and travel to other markets selling goods in his behalf; they also farm for him during the rainy season, and do all sorts of tasks about the compound.

592 In turn, the head of the household is obliged to provide
571 his tata njima with ~~shelter~~ and with clothing, and to feed
[583] them. He provides the luwaliram for male members of the house-
[586] hold, and stands in as luwali for females. After a divorce,
both man and woman may return to his household. He is also ex-

592 pected to provide for the larger needs of members of his household--
571 to provide education for the gifted, or to give a donkey
or horse to a particular household member so that he may more
effectively perform his tasks. The obligations of one set of
the pair, the master of the house for example, becomes the expectation
of his counterpart, the tata njima. Conversely the
master expects that the tata njima will fulfill his obligations
[567] to the household. In the case of slaves, obligations are more
binding on both sides than in the case of tata njima. A master
who recognizes his obligations to a slave is ultimately bound
to provide for him. A tata njima who fulfills the expectations
of his master can expect to be given greater responsibilities,
in accordance with his master's position. However, a tata njima
who does not fulfill his master's expectations (i.e., does not
properly perform his obligations), can expect to have responsibilities
taken from him, and less desirable tasks thrust upon
592 him. Should he radically violate his master's trust he may be
571 expelled from the household, and the relationship between tata
464 [626] njima and master of the house is abruptly ended. This is far
more serious than merely being unemployed. An adolescent who
finds himself in such a position attempts to become attached to
another household, that of a less important man, in which he occupies
a more lowly position. It is imperative that he be attached
to some household, particularly if he is a young man with
not enough savings set aside to provide for a decent luwaliram.
Should he be unsuccessful in finding another household for him-

592 464 571 self, he may become part of the small but growing proletariat in the cities, who work for wages for a European company.

592 571 It is interesting to note that under normal circumstances the relationship between the tata njima and the head of a household can be perpetuated after the tata njima has married and has set up his own small household--with his wife and children. The master of his household provides him with a bride since he has paid the luwaliram, and though the tata (son) has left the compound itself, he continues to acknowledge the relationship. He does this by returning regularly to eat at his master's house. [264] Patterns of eating form wide circles encompassing many households at times, and delineating a wider network of relationships. 592 571 182 The nature of the relationship between individuals outlined here is at the core of Kanuri social structure. It characterizes a social relationship, as well as an economic and political relationship; it is repeated at every level of Kanuri society, and in slightly different form it epitomizes the nature of political relations at the state level as well.

592 To recapitulate briefly, the household as a social unit may include the following classes of people:

1. An adult married male--master of the household.
2. Remainder of the nuclear family--his wife or wives and their children.
3. Members of the extended family--elderly parents.
4. Adopted children--either given to relatives (and therefore also part of the extended family), or given to chibuna.

592

5. Slaves--both male and female; chirs and their children.
6. Zogors and bachelors, as temporary members.
7. Tata njima--non-kin.
8. Malams of the Koran--taken in, and provided with a house and food, as an act of charity.

592 571 554 The term yal is used for members of the household who are not close kinsmen of the household head. This group, some of whom are necessarily present while others are occasionally found, some permanent and others temporary, some kinsmen and others not, forms the central social unit in Kanuri society. Its size and its composition reflects the status of the household head in the larger society, in terms of both the old and traditional system of social stratification, and in terms of present-day [156] realities and opportunities. The solidarity of the household as a unit also reflects the ability of the household head to satisfy the expectations of the various members of his household, and consequently to live up to his own view of himself and his status in Kanuri society. In order to satisfy his wives, his slaves, his tata njima, and to induce people to name sons after him, he must be in a position, economically and politically, which will permit him to meet expectations. They, in turn will labor for him, and by their labors, as well as by their very presence as part of his household, the members of his household will help the household head to validate his status in the society.

[GEIDAM]

000 tend to live in one ward.

632 571 621 The net effect of the clustering of specialized groups within certain wards is to create sub-communities or neighborhoods within each ward. A neighborhood may comprise people who are ethnically alike, or people who practice the same trade, or both. The bond between neighbors, who live in adjacent or nearby compounds, is strengthened by the second bond of practicing the same trade. Neighborhoods are groupings within wards, within which patterns of friendship and visiting tend to occur [576] with high frequency. A common Kanuri greeting is, "How is your [431] ward?" On a religious feast day a wealthy man distributes charity to the people of his neighborhood. A bond exists between people of one ward who now find themselves living in a different town. A person will often say, "I know him very well. We're from the same ward. I watched him grow up." These are all examples of recognition that the neighborhood and the ward are [622] social units which are significant in everyday life. In addi- [181] tion, since Kanuri life is so structured and hierarchical, craftsmen and tradesmen are frequently organized under a head. The compound of the headman of a group then become the focal point of a neighborhood, just as the compound of each Lowan is the center of his ward.

C. Economy on the Communal Level.

128 The economic activities of the people of Geidam will be discussed in this section, in contrast to the Kanuri economy gen-

[GEIDAM]

44 en collect, and the black wooden bowl (bur) which serves as
438
439 the standard eating bowl for all Kanuri. In turn, they buy
563 Kanuri-style gowns, bəjis, dates, kola nuts and incense. Lastly,
[415] Buduwai, a pastoral sub-group of the Kanuri, come into the
Geidam market with cows, milk, butter and millet to sell. They
buy salt, sugar, and Maria Theresa dollars (gursus, from which
they make bracelets and anklets).

5. External trade.

44 External trade remains to be considered. This is the
439
177 process through which Western goods, imported by the European
trading companies, enter into the Kanuri economy and are distributed
so that they eventually reach the individual Kanuri.
As part of this process, the cash crops of the Kanuri are sold
to agents of Western companies and exported from the area.

44 The trading companies of Geidam sell their goods to wholesalers,
439 wealthy Kanuri or Hausa middlemen, who primarily receive
177
452 quantities of imported cloth from the companies. The
companies extend credit to these middlemen, each of whom has
his shop or canteen in the town where his stock in bolts of
cloth is displayed. Payment for goods is made after the cloth
is sold. Consequently these men are baləsma in Kanuri terms.
[556] Successful operators of canteens are wealthy men who deal in
[592] large volumes of goods. They are the heads of large households,
[571] and have a great many relatives, and tata ŋjima attached to
them. The tata ŋjima farm for them, and many transact business
for them as well. They distribute and sell cloth in the dis-

[GEIDAM]

177 branches of the NA administration. Geidam has a Police Charge
178 625 Office and a prison. Heading the police contingent in Geidam
648 is a Sergeant, with two corporals and about fifteen men in his
command. In September, 1956 the Sergeant in command was Sergeant Ali. He seemed to have a good relationship with both
Alkali Baba Kura and with Yerima Mustapha, yet two months later
he was replaced by a new man, Sergeant Usman. The reasons
given were that he had had difficulties with the Ajia, who had
asked that he be replaced. Sergeant Usman was not seen in the
Ajari frequently, although Sergeant Ali had often been present
177 there. It was not until late in the field trip that the information
178 625 was revealed (in private, of course) that the new
648 Sergeant, Sergeant Usman, was a slave of Yerima's. Years ago,
567 571 at the death of Laminu Jitia, the great-grandfather of Yerima
Mustapha, the Shehu took for himself most of his property including a slave called Kazella Kadria. This, of course, is
the Shehu's prerogative towards his kabuna, of which Laminu
Jitia was one of the most prominent. Kazella Kadria was the
grandfather of Sergeant Usman, who, strictly speaking, was a
slave of the Shehu's. His own father grew up as a slave of
the Shehu, but Sergeant Usman knows that Yerima Mustapha is
the direct lineal descendant and successor to the position of
his great-grandfather Laminu Jitia, to whom Sergeant Usman's
grandfather once belonged, and he behaves accordingly to Yerima Mustapha, the Ajia of Geidam. This relationship is never
mentioned by either party, but it can be seen permeating every

[GEIDAM]

177 aspect of their behavior towards one another. Sergeant Usman
178 comes only to report to Yerima each morning; otherwise he is
625 never in the Ajari. He is absolutely trustworthy, and in
648 retrospect it is evident that he was brought to Geidam to be
567
571 in charge of the NA Police there because of this. The nature of the relationship between the Ajia and the Sergeant is, of course, unknown to the British administration and to the European Assistant Superintendent of Police, but in that relationship and in its effective use by Yerima Mustapha can be seen the persistence of the traditional social system, as well as the frustration of newer bureaucratic forms introduced by the British.

571 The relationship between the Ajia and the Geidam Police
662 is typical in a general sense of all relationships within the
178 political hierarchy centering in Geidam, though it is not always possible to see the structural lines as clearly as in a
[500] slave-master situation. Another special NA appointee in Geidam, Malam Jalo, operates the ferry crossing the Yobe River during its flood. This is a well-paying job, and is highly coveted. Malam Jalo is a member of an important family, and has political influence at the court which enabled him to get the appointment. He acts like a kabuna of Yerima's, and considers himself to be a kabuna though his job is entirely independent of that performed by the kabuna. By placing himself in the relationship of a kabuna to the Ajia, he defines his role in the political system, and at the same time indicates

[GEIDAM]

● 571 his allegiance to the Ajia who might otherwise be tempted to
662 replace him with one of his own men.
178

178 The kabuna represent a special category in the adminis-
571 tration of the district. The colonial administration makes no
631
66 provision for the kabuna; they are not NA appointees as are
[illegible] all the other officeholders mentioned above; they receive no salary. Yet, the services which they perform are vital if the district bureaucracy is to continue to function smoothly. The kabuna represent a traditional Kanuri social category whose roles are primarily in the political sphere. The roles of the kabuna have been slightly modified and adapted to the modern situation, but the relationship between kabuna and Ajia and between kabuna and populace is a traditional one and is once again typical of the persistence of the old social stratification system into the present.

571 Yerima Mustapha has fifty-nine kabuna at Geidam. Some
634 are slaves; some are free. Many have been with Yerima for years and years. Head of all the kabuna is Wakil Ali, a slave. The kabuna are each given a house to live in, a horse belonging to Yerima, a plot of land to farm, and ceremonial trappings for themselves and for their horses. In turn, they swear allegiance to Yerima and work for him.

2. A history of important office-holders in Geidam.

175 The present town of Geidam is on the site of an old town
[illegible] called Damjeri. Five miles to the west of the present Geidam

121 101 Kanuri society is a social system whose boundaries are here-
in defined by the extent of the political boundaries of the Kanuri
state known as Bornu Emirate. As a language and a culture, Kanuri tran-
scends these borders but for present purposes the social system is defined
121 571 by its political limits. Social relations within this system are hier-
archically arranged for many of the most important functions of social
life and it can be seen in the pages to follow that within the frame-
work of the superior/subordinate relationship there is a high degree of
opportunism which characterizes these social relations. Superior/sub-
ordinate relations are governed strongly by factors of power and auth-
ority. These variables make up a type of human action called govern-
mental and Smith's view is adopted here that such behaviour is possible
at all levels of human social organization.(1) Since it is relationships
which are being described a two-sided definition is useful for analyti-
cal purposes. Looking at the relationship from the superior's point of
view, power is the ability to order action and make decisions about the
kind of action to be taken, and authority in the same direction is the
ability of the superior to secure performance of the action ordered. On
the other side of the relationship, power and authority refer to the
subordinate's sensitivity and response to the power and authority of
superior(s).

121 Whether or not a particular theory of society is espoused by a writer, his work very often tends to support some contemporary conceptions while contradicting others. It should be emphasized that the writer had no pre-conceived notions about Kanuri social relations, nor was he attempting to support, refine, or negate one social system theory

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(1) Smith, M. G., On Segmentary Lineage Systems, JRAI, 86, 1957, p. 50.

121 as against another. The data have been described as they were observed rather than as test data for any theory of society. Nevertheless the material to follow suggests that there may be more to the so-called "market model view"(1) of the social system than its recent discreditors have led us to believe. This view emphasizes social relationships and roles as objects of choice in terms of the net satisfactions expected. The market model has been criticized because it tends to portray social interaction as overly contractual and overly rational. Furthermore it is claimed that social relations must be analyzed in relation to the values defining current role obligations or those internalized in personality, while economic relations are independent of such references.(2) 121 571 However the data to follow indicate that in Kanuri society many non-economic as well as economic relations are governed by what is most aptly described as "investment" and "return". Individuals perform certain roles for socially defined returns. When the performance of obligations is judged as insufficient then dissatisfaction arises which may result in a shift in social relations or a change in the performance within the relationship. The reader must judge for himself whether or not this is merely a "metaphorical construction",(3) or an adequate description of Kanuri social life.

114 123 The methods used in gathering data in the field fall into three categories: qualitative, quantitative and documentary. Qualitative methods of participant observation were used exclusively during the first eight months of field work. The writer and his wife lived in

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(1) Hopkins, Terence K. Sociology and the Substantive View of the Economy in Trade and Market in the Early Empires, Polanyi, K., Arensburg, C.M. and Pearson, H. W. (eds.) p. 283.
(2) Ibid: p. 284
(3) Ibid: p. 284

Chapter IV

[p.50]

Kinship and Interpersonal Relations

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This chapter describes the forms of behaviour which pattern the relationships of people in their day to day lives in Bornu. The model for these patterns is the norm of behaviour governing kinship relations. It should be noted that this is not a theoretical statement but an empirical one which the evidence of this chapter, and those to follow, attempts to bear out.

Kinship Terminology (1)

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In the Kanuri language kinship is referred to as dur. This is a general term that includes ego's father's and mother's consanguinal relations. The system is bilateral in the sense that ego recognizes his descent from, and relation to, two descent systems reckoned through the father and mother of his own father and mother. Thus, ego has his Fa-Mo and Mo-Fa as members of his consanguinal kin group. Dur bube (kin of the blood) refers to father's relatives, and dur chambe (kin of the milk) is the term for mother's relatives.

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The terminology is generational in the sense that all generation levels can be distinguished and classificatory in the sense that one or two terms serve to delineate all of ego's relations at any one generation level, except the first ascendant. At the first ascendant generation parent terms are extended to parents' siblings with suffixes added to delineate junior and senior and there are separate terms for Mo-Bro and Fa-Sis.

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Affinal relations are divided into two categories. The first term, kêsai (senior in-laws) refers to ego's spouses's relatives

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(1) See the appendix to this chapter for kinship diagrams and a table of Kinship terminology.

593 eating together) is dropped and the husband and wife often refer to each other by sibling terms.

593 565 In some cases, more ofteh among the upper classes, if a mother and/or father are very young at the time of their first child, a mutual shame-avoidance should obtain between the parents [842] and this child. Informants who knew of this custom (many lower class [853] informants denied its existence) claimed that in such a case the young mother must be pushed and cajoled into giving her breast to the infant because she feels great shame in having given birth so early in her life. However, as soon as the parents have grown up somewhat and taken their place as adult members of the community, the shame-avoidance between them and their first-born dwindles to the more usual shame-respect held between children and their parents.

571 As indicated above, shame(nungu) is a general category which refers to restrictions on behaviour in interpersonal rela- [577] tions. In this sense it is generalised to include all good, proper [834] and moral conduct, both in and out of the kinship system. An individual should feel some nungu whenever he approaches a woman in public and she should keep her eyes to the ground, her head covered, if possible, and only the most necessary conversation should pass 576 between them. These taboos are more stringently practised by mem- [515] bers of the upper classes, although no man, regardless of class 264 ever eats with a woman. All respect behaviour between the lower classes and their social superiors implies some nungu. Thus in the law court an individual must keep his head uncovered and bent down (a woman keeps her head covered and originally spoke through a window from another room), and remain on his knees with feet tucked under his robe and his knees forward. Or again, shoes must be re-

576 moved in the presence of social superiors, and if the gap between them is great shoes are removed even when passing in front of the superior's compound. A person who continually avoids or breaks moral rules and rules of etiquette and good conduct is described as nungu ba (having no shame) or shim ngumdu (narrow eyes) - the latter from the saying " a man of narrow eyes has no shame."

Respect (bàrzum)

571 Respect (bàrzum) is a general category of behaviour in interpersonal relations which has to do with the response to power and authority. It ranges from shame-respect, described above, to friendship-respect in which there may be a more affective relationship that involves discipline and a superior-subordinate relation along with the possibility of partial intimacy depending upon factors of personality, age, generation, and sex differences of the actors.

593
604 Generally speaking the shame-respect relation is most stringently practised with own parents, being transferred to parents' siblings if any of these has taken on the parent's role toward ego. There is a significant difference in shame and friendship responses given to parents and to their collaterals. In the table below respect responses are not indicated because all informants gave a bàrzum response to own parents and parents' collaterals.

TABLE II

Ego's Responses to Categories of Relatives Expressed as a Percentage of his Total Responses to the Category

	shame	friendship
own parents	99.5	0
pat. coll. (Parent's)	23.8	20.4
mat. coll. (Parent's)	23.2	20.2

593 465 by his senior sibling in return for services rendered. The senior who had been on monthly salary for several years felt strongly that his junior sibling should learn to manage by the month. The result was the boy's refusal to obey his senior's commands and the eventual break-up of the relationship.

593 604 In the questionnaire material there is a slight drop in shame responses towards older siblings (not significant statistically) and a significant drop in respect responses when the relationship is compared to ego's relations to parent's collaterals. The figures are given in the following Table: R - response; N-R - number of responses which were different per subject for that category.

TABLE III

Responses to Older Siblings and Parents' Collaterals
(no difference between patri- and matri-kin)

	Shame		Respect		Friendship	
	R	N-R	R	N-R	R	N-R
older siblings	16	61	67	10.	41	34
par. collaterals	21	67	86	2	16	72
sig. level	-		.01		.01	

(The chi-square test was used here. For the theoretical validity of its use with small numbers see: Lewis, D. and Burke, C.J. The Use and Misuse of the Chi-Square Test, in the Psychological Bulletin, 46, pp:433-489, 1949; and Snedecor, G.W., Statistical Methods, p. 169, 1940.)

571 The indication that bèrzum is regarded primarily as a norm governing the behaviour by a subordinate to a superior rather than as a descriptive term for the relationship is illustrated in the following table which compares ego's responses on either side of a
571 junior-senior relationship. The Ol-Sis-Hu and Wi-Yo-Bro have a
607 reciprocal joking relationship with one another. However, the junior in the situation must pay respect(nona), or give respect (bèrzum) to the senior, even though their traditionally formalised inter-

• 571 607 action is one of reciprocal joking. The joking itself is related to the respect behaviour. The older or senior member (Ol-Sis-Hu) must always joke with the younger or junior (Wi-Yo-Bro) saying he will obtain either a spouse or a sexual partner for the latter. And this is an essential aspect of bérzum; the senior must give something in return for the subservience he receives.

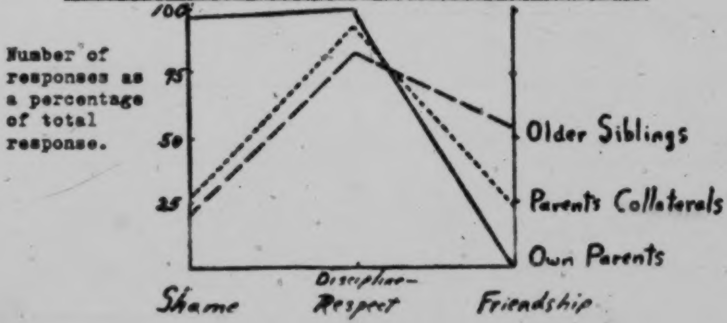
TABLE IV

Responses to Ol-Sis-Hu and Wi-Yo-Bro

	Respect		Joking	
	R	N-R	R	N-R
Ol-Sis-Hu	36	5	35	6
Wi-Yo-Bro	4	36	37	3
sig. level	.01		-	

602 It is now possible to make a more summary comment about the nature of the bérzum behaviour norm in the kinship system. It can be said to range on a continuum from shame-respect through discipline-respect to friendship-discipline-respect, represented by three categories of relatives (a) own parents, (b) parent's collaterals, and (c) older siblings. Any of these who assume the own-parents role in relation to ego takes over the expected behaviour

GRAPH TO SHOW BERZUM (DISCIPLINE-RESPECT) CONTINUUM



602 from ego necessarily. It was noted that the behaviour is a response to power and authority and is non-reciprocal. This means that bárzum is non-reciprocal, not the relationship in which it obtains. Respect ideally moves from junior to senior in a relationship, but as we shall see respect (bárzum) must be cultivated if it is to flourish.

571 Beyond the operative limits of the kinship system, bárzum is the essential quality of all relationships in the society which involve power and authority. If the relationship is of a master-servant variety then the subordinate gives bárzum to the superior, while the superior will totally or partially feed, clothe, house and even obtain a wife for the subordinate (i.e. help with the bride-wealth, or even in some cases find a girl for him). The superior in such a relationship is often referred to as abanjima (father of the house) especially when the subordinate lives in or near the compound of his superior and the superior refers to the subordinate as his tada njima (child of the house).

571
576 To a lesser extent the bárzum relationship is imbedded in the etiquette system of Kanuri greeting customs. This is called nona which means paying-one's-respects-to a superior. Here, although the bárzum is only momentary, it symbolizes and validates status differences in Kanuri social structure. The rule is simply this: a high status person never goes to call on or greet a lower status person. By following the reverse order, that is the lower status person always calling on or greeting the higher status person, respect is delivered in the proper direction and the lower status individual indicates his recognition of the power and auth-

571 ority of the superior in the society as a whole, thereby validating
576 the status hierarchy of the social structure.

571 In terms of the present analysis *bàrzum* is such an essential quality in the fabric of Kanuri interpersonal relations that it bears closer scrutiny. To do this we can use the method of presentation being followed here and return to the kinship system working out from there to the wider society. The content of the *bàrzum* relationship includes a sense of mutual obligation partially symbolized by the Kanuri concept of "trust" (*aman*). It is only partial because *aman* as we shall see has an affective connotation not necessarily implied in the *bàrzum* relationship.

602 In the questionnaire results, no differences were obtained from informants as to their behaviour towards patrilateral as compared with matrilateral kin. However, the interviewer also asked the respondants which kin they felt more *aman* with. In this case a definite discrimination between the descent groups was asked for and the answer was unequivocally in favour of the patrilateral group. The solution to the problem lies in the nature of the word *aman* (trust). It is not a unidimensional term implying only one kind of attitude, but subsumes within it several different kinds of trust, and it depends upon how the question is phrased which descent group will get the comparatively greater amount of *aman* in the individual's judgment.. If the question is asked barely, with no indication or hypothetical case which might refer to loans or credit or emotional factors, the answer comes back quickly (and this is universal for all strata of society) that there is more *aman* with the patrilateral group. The reasons given for this choice are also

171 602 The *aman* with the matrilateral group (to which Smith refers[1] for the Hausa) is a variety of mutual risk-sharing based on affection and the much more limited scope for conflict found in this less complex relational system.

602 433 On the face of it, the distinctions within the descent system would seem to have much significance for the analysis of commercial growth in Bornu. If there is more and easier credit facilities in the interpersonal relationships of the matrilateral group, it would seem as if this might be a useful model of organisation for future economic development, which requires credit and loans.

602 571 [433] A swift look in any direction at functioning social relations in Kanuri society is enough to dispel such a theory. And the answer is quite simple but important. In the last analysis trust based merely on affection and lack of conflicting interests is not adequate to the task of maintaining the complex interrelationships necessary for the continuity of social life. To obtain a workable social organization of any kind requires power and authority and discipline, and these are patently scarce in the matrilateral structure, or at least much less intensified while they are key aspects of the patrilateral system. Besides this, indeed as an integral part of it, there is the more fundamental distinction of territoriality. Although *aman* of an affective nature which can involve potential risk-sharing of property is present with the mother's kin group, there is in most cases no inherent social organization in the mother's family which joins her and the rest of her relatives together as a functioning social unit in any one place. The custom [591] [572] of patrilocal and/or neolocal marriage forbids such an eventuality. By the same token, ordinary friendships beyond the kinship system include varying amounts of this same kind of *aman* when occurring between social equals.

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(1) Smith, M.G. *The Economy of Hausa Communities of Zaria*, Colonial Research Studies No. 16 (The Colonial Office, London) 1955, p. 47.

• 571 In interpersonal relations in the society at large aman
602 or trust is most often used in the patrilateral sense of the word when
571 social organization is involved. Thus, in the anthropologist's house-
592 hold, one of the members who developed yearnings for the women of the
[123] other household members, and was suspected of taking ways, became in-
creasingly estranged from the general corpus of the household personnel.
The comments about him, most often muttered under their breaths by the
others, were "aman ba", no trust, and "shim ngumdu" narrow eyes, i.e.
no proper feelings of shame and respect. That is to say, he neglected
or rejected the proper rules of trust behaviour which should be prac-
571 tised by a person living in a household unit. Thus aman (trust) in the
602 patrilateral sense is the working mechanism of bàrzum (respect). Bàrzum
as a formal or structural behaviour norm can often be tied to nona, to
pay one's respects to a superior, but when it includes aman it is a more
functional and purposeful interaction and is tied into the successful
or unsuccessful operation of interpersonal relations. Consequently,
when the two are linked together, i.e. when a respect relationship also
involves patri-aman, its neglect or infringement causes a judgment of
lack of "proper" respect to be placed on the head of the individual
offender who breaks faith. To the Kanuri then, the best respect, the
real respect relationship involves aman, and without this essential fea-
ture the relationship is more formal than functional. Here again the
concept of a continuum is useful in filling out the complex variability
of the respect relation. In terms of utility, the respect relation runs
from extremely little, which is symbolized in nona, (paying one's re-
spects to a superior), through to aman, (trusting a superior and being
loyal to him), in return for the support and maintenance he can bestow.
The value of these different aspects of respect both functionally to the

571 602 individuals involved and traditionally as a cultural value also increases as simple nona is made more rewarding by the progressive addition of more and more patri-aman.

Joking Relationships (suli)

Joking relationships (suli) among the Kanuri refer to a quality in interpersonal relations wherein the customary behavioural restrictions based on seniority, generation and sex differences are relaxed and a formalized pattern of permissiveness of some kind obtains between the parties.

603 The most diffuse or broadly based joking relationship is that between ego and his grandparents and great-grandparents, if [555] any of the latter are alive. In many cases Kanuri children are [591] partially raised by their grandparents, being taken from their moth- [553] er just after weaning. This is especially true when the child is called after his grandparent which is often the case since naming customs generally bring names from alternate generations down the descent system. The child usually has the most intimate and fondest joking relationship with his namesake grandparent, if this person lives close by or adopts him. When this is not the case, the grandparent residing closest is the person with whom a more intimate 553 joking relationship is established. The naming rule gives no prefer- 602 ence to matrilateral or patrilateral kinship; successive children must be named after and/or adopted by each of the spouse's parents alternatively. Thus neither side must obtain a namesake from the same marriage union twice in a row. The reason given for this custom of alternation is that it helps to prevent conflict and jealousy between a man and his wife as well as between the married couple and

603 that is your wife, is it?, or to her - that is your husband, eh? [152] All the restrictions on any show of emotion with own parents are noticeable by their absence in the affective nature of the grandparent joking relationship with its openly expressible fondness and friendship. That there is some discipline involved is indicated by the fact that the child is very often socialized in a grandparent's [862] house. One grandparent was observed very patiently taking the left hand of his little namesake out of the food bowl, every time the child attempted to eat with this taboo instrument. One adult informant summed up his own attitudes towards the relationship as follows:

> You may pull your kaka's (grandparent's) beards, or go into his house and take his possessions, and he will not mind - he is happy because his children have borne children. If you have a yeiya (great-grandparent) alive, it is the same with him.

[602] [553] Although the suli (joking) relationship holds for all members of the second and third ascendant and descendant generations it focuses for an individual in its most memorable and frequently emphasized form, between himself and his grandparent-namesake, his 603 chuwuna. Many Kanuri names are convertible from male to female 553 [551] forms and thus, cases of a grandchild named after a grandparent of opposite sex are known. The important point is that the chuwuna (namesake) relationship is most often associated with the practise 553 of grandparent joking relations and possible adoptions. This obser- 571 vation is validated by looking at other chuwuna relationships in the kinship system or between close friends. If a child is named after a father's brother or his father's friend, he and that person have a mildly permissive joking relationship. They address each

553 other as chuwuna and refer and act towards one another in a similar
• 571 fashion to that of grandparents and grandchildren. For parents this
becomes an avenue for showing affection to a collateral relative or
a close friend in much the same way as we appoint our own children's
553 god-parents. This naming custom is also a means of establishing
557 profitable relations both for the parents (especially the father)
and for the child. Consequently, in the Kanuri state there are a
great many children called after District Heads, aristocrats of the
state, rich men, and people in high status positions generally. The
previous chief of Magumeri District had been a particularly beneficent
and popular political leader of the area. When he departed
to take up residence in another District he left in his wake a large
number of children who had been named after him. The reason for
giving names in this way is not only to flatter or honour the person
[597] involved. There is a very conscious awareness that the namesake
relation includes the possibility of adoption as frequently occurs
in the case of the grandparent-grandchild relation. Thus there is
in this extension outwards and often upwards of the chuwuna relation
an attempt to better or at least increase the social relations of
the family and especially, it is hoped, of the child.

607 There is a joking relationship between ego and his
spouse's younger siblings, real and classificatory, of either sex.
[601] Informants are emphatic in denying that it is possible even in joking
[582] to call Wi-Yo-Sis "wife" or "little wife" as do the Hausa.(1) Marriage
with Wi-Yo-Sis is taboo unless the present wife is dead. Informants

(1) Smith, M.G., op. cit. p. 43

605 play with his patrilateral cousins. As in the matrilateral case, if ego changes his joking-wife, the tiu joking relationships shift also in association with the change. That is to say, these joking relationships may change in their personnel from time to time, but are ordered in relation to the adult marriage rules in each separate situation.

[184] Although no attempt was made to measure class differences in the cousin joking relationships, it should be noted here that several informants claimed that the above joking relations were "unbecoming" for good proper behaviour and they did not practise such customs.

567 Outside the kinship system a joking relationship may
hold between a master and his slave, although this is usual only
when the slave is an entertainer of some kind. Informants denied
that it occurred when the slave is merely serving his master in an
571 ordinary work situation. Amongst the various occupations, joking
463 relations obtain between smiths and butchers; barber-doctors and
smiths; mallams (koranic teacher-priests) and hunters; kola-nut
wholesalers and retailers; dyers and tailors; a builder of mud
houses and his labourers; a fire-wood seller and his customers;
614 pepper sellers and kola-nut whoesalers. Joking relations also hold
648 between clans such as Ngala'a and Magumi; Nguma and Tára; Kuburi
and Tára; Su'urti and Kuburi; or between ethnic groups like Shuwa
and Kanuri; Kurdi and Shuwa; Hausa and Fulani; Kanuri and Fulani;
Tubu and Monga; Monga and Bádde; Kanembu and Wasili (Arabs).

571
602 In the above relationships which seem in all cases to cover an area of interrelations involving potential conflicts, the

571 [602] [601] joking takes the form (usually) of the grandparent-grandchild relationship. The younger refers to and addresses the elder as kaka (grandparent) while the elder may refer to the younger as diwo (grandchild) or address him as kaka. Joking between occupations was observed more frequently than between ethnic groups, while no [829] inter-clan joking was seen at all. Most people do not know the clan membership of the people they associate with in their everyday life.

Friendship and Fondness Relations (numkam)

572 602 The friendship and/or fondness relationships include those interpersonal relations wherein ego finds mutual affection, sympathy and community of interests. As a norm or dimension of behaviour it is much less formalised in the kinship system (indeed in society as a whole) when compared with shame, respect and joking relations. These are regarded as fairly distinct aspects of interpersonal relations which involve some kind of a behavioural criterion or marker, like not eating out of the same bowl, or joking [128] about sexual intercourse, etc. Notwithstanding the possibility of its creation by the anthropologist, rather than the people themselves, as a category of kinship behaviour of the same order as the others, numkam (friendship) seems to be a characteristic of kinship relations as it is of any human situation wherein people live, eat, play, earn their living and feel themselves to make up a unity of some sort.

603 There is a high degree of expressive and affective fondness found in the joking relationships between grandparents and grandchildren which centers, as we have seen, most intensively around the namesake attribute of the same relationship. Because of

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829 on learning how to create as many relationships as possible for himself to cover the inevitable break-ups which occur in present social relations. As a result, to a Western observer, the friendship relations may seem to have a superficial quality which involves many references to good friends, what they do and will do for ego, with subsequently very little proof of the validity of such claims. Although certainly the emotional content can be and is, in many ways, as real and sincere as in any comparable human situation anywhere. The essential difference here is the institutionalized recognition and acceptance of the brittleness of interpersonal relations as a necessary behavioural aspect of a complex social organisation which has been operating over a wide territory and population through a long history. Our social reality is not so different, but our culture has idealised Damon and Pythias.

Residence Patterns

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[571] [602] Although it is a basic tenet in the present discussion that Kanuri behavioural norms and the texture of interpersonal relations in the total society have their foundations in the kinship system, it must also be realised that the fundamental unit of social organization in which these behaviours operate is the compound or household (fato). This is a walled-in area which encloses a readily identifiable group in the community. 592 351 The walls are of mud or grass matting depending on the socio-economic level of the householder and the community at large, as well as upon a cheap abundant supply of clay-mud. Magumeri had only one mud walled compound, that of the District Head, while other towns such as Geidam have almost all compounds enclosed with mud walls. The walls are usually about five feet tall, but vary from place to place.

592 supporting his widowed mother.

592 Although a complete census coverage of residence units,
125 in order to determine the range and variation of residence patterns
171 proved unfeasible,(1) personal observations and first-hand acquaintance with 25-30 households over a one-year period brought out somewhat similar conclusions to Smith's analysis of his Hausa census material.(2)

592 There are two general types of household groupings linked
• 571 to one another through time in a roughly cyclical process of fission
[596] and fusion. The first type is that of a man, wife or wives, and
[829] children and son's wives. This is an ideal pattern in the culture. In anthropological terms it is a patrilocal extended family organisation with the possible addition of a servant or a tada njima (son of the house - like a son, but non-kin). From this traditionally valued structure two forms can emerge or develop. The son and/or servant may move off and set up his own household, either close by or in a distant locality depending upon political and economic factors. This is just about ready to happen in the diagram above. The son (7) has his own farm, wife, child and non-agricultural source of income, all independent of the compound head. If he decides on another wife he will find his father's compound cramping to his own expanding nuclear family unit requirements and move to a new location close by. Desire for autonomous headship of his own family grouping plus the possible squabbles between co-wives which must traditionally be suppressed before his own parents, will also tend to determine his decision to move. In this particular case he will not move far

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123 125 (1) The census was planned and arranged for but was given up for political reasons. The writer was assured by close friends that in the contemporary atmosphere of tax fears the census program would disturb ultimate rapport objectives in the community.

(2) Smith, M.G., op. cit. pp. 19-28.

592 571 [593] because of the eventual high status position he can look forward to upon the death of his father. Again he has a strong affective tie with his mother, i.e., his father's senior wife. In this case the compound split is merely a segmentary process which is reproducing the pattern. The son will attempt to set up a similar household to that from which he came.

592 593 571 Another alternative takes place when a household head dies leaving several sons or heirs. The sons may remain in the compound area with the senior as the nominal head. However, as soon as each of the brothers begins creating his own nuclear family the original pattern begins to reassert itself, and hiving off takes place which is commonly noticeable in the re-arrangement of compound walls, or the emergence of new ones. The degree to which the brothers remain together is very often a measure of the genealogical distance between them through the father's line. Informants state that full brothers have a much greater chance of remaining in the same [578] compound or near one another than other types of siblings. The conflicts over inheritance and the loyalties to different widowed mothers tend to create a somewhat stronger fissionable force in the case of half-siblings of the same dead father. In the opposite case where the widowed mother is the same, but the co-resident siblings are of different fathers, then only the offspring of the dead father have any claim to the inheritance. The half-siblings of this variety generally do not remain together since they have different patrilateral kinship affiliations. This does not mean to imply that half-siblings of different fathers are unfriendly to one another. In actual fact the reverse seems to be the case. However, ego's interests and sense

592 However, ego's interests and sense
593 of social membership lie primarily with his agnatic group and are
• 571 less affected by friendship than social security.

[602) An example may help to clarify things here. From the genealogical data of four brothers, the following recent family history emerged which, although atypical in its matrilateral emphasis, still illustrates quite graphically how the residence patterns operate through time.

[768] Upon the death of her husband about forty years ago, a woman of Magumeri returned from Nguru in north Bornu in order to live in the compound of her full brother, the head butcher of the town. With her she brought her three sons all of whom had been fathered by
[587] her recently dead husband. She later remarried, leaving the three boys with their Mo-Bro, and subsequently gave birth to another son by the new husband. The three sons of the woman's original marriage grew up in the house of their (childless) Mo-Bro and were taught the butcher's craft.

[463]
[554] When the Mo-Bro died leaving no wife, and no heirs, his sister's oldest son became the head butcher of Magumeri. The second son decided to leave the butcher's craft (a low status occupation) and become a trader in hides and skins. The youngest of the three full brothers, who was crippled in one leg, elected to remain in butchering. The eldest son became head of the household. He married and prospered and now has two wives and three children (by the second wife). The second also married and set up a new compound for himself on the east side of and adjacent to his elder brother's compound. Later, the third brother married and after a short while moved directly to the north and adjacent to his elder brother's compound.

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[428] He has now obtained some farmland from a friend and all his primary relationships are with non-kin members (X is dead). His extreme youth, plus his absence at the time of the Mo-Bro death as compared with his brothers' presence in the compound, left him out of the inheritance and allowed the three half-brothers to parcel out the farmland among themselves. He feels today that there is gâdena mbeji, a difference or bad feeling between him and his half-brothers.
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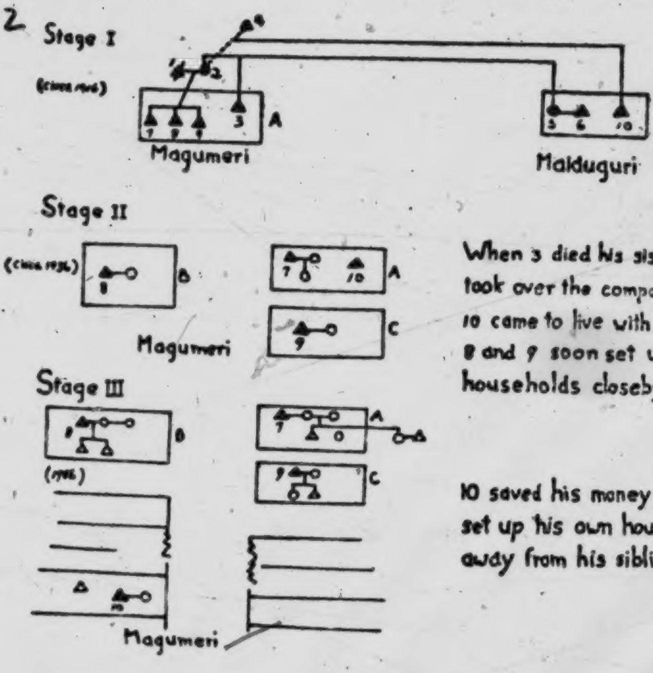
592 The following diagram illustrates the processes of the above example.



When 3 died his sister's eldest son took over the compound (A), and 10 came to live with him. Siblings 8 and 9 soon set up their own households closeby.

10 saved his money and finally set up his own household (D) away from his siblings.

Legend:
(1) Mo-dead-husband: (2) Mo; (3) Mo-Bro: (4) Mo-next-husband (divorced later): (5) Mo-Sis: (6) Mo-Sis-Hu: (7), (8), (9) full siblings: (10) half-sibling to 7, 8, 9.

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571 Several comparable processes to the above were recorded
except that the defunct relative whose demise caused the shift in
power relations was an agnatic relative. The overall pattern is
as follows: a patrilocal extended family residence may break up
while the household head is still living to form an identical but
often smaller structure near at hand or far away. The mobile member
sets up his new compound unit with his own nuclear or polygynous family
group as the constituent members. Another and somewhat similar
process occurs when a compound head dies leaving several sons in the
household. In these circumstances the senior son takes over the headship
of his father's compound and assumes an authoritative position
over his siblings. But this second variety tends to give way in
time to a series of smaller residence groups. That is to say, a
group of new households are set up under each sibling as he departs
[591] from his senior brother's compound. Thus there is a process in Kanuri
residence patterns in which each married man attempts to set up
[621] his own household with himself as compound head. However, factors
of power and authority tend very often to create superior subordinate
relations among groups of households which then become extended
household organizations.

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602 In the Kanuri residence groupings, the most satisfactory organization for the operation of power and authority is the type in which a senior person who is the father or acts like a father to all the members of the compound commands much of the action of the group. As we have seen in the analysis of *bérzum* its strongest form centres around the relationship of father to son while the relation weakens somewhat as ego relates himself to parent's collater-

592 593 602 als and senior siblings. That is to say, in terms of ego's sensitivity to kinship superiors' ability to command discipline-respect, the data indicates that the father role contains the greatest proportion of authority in terms of ego's responses. This does not mean that father surrogates can never successfully replace the father role for ego, for as we shall see, the role is defined primarily in terms of functions rather than biological ascription. Thus, if the father-head of the patrilocal extended family organization cannot produce for his subordinate members all the subsistence satisfactions, the clothing, bride-wealth, and status in the community, which they require in return for their subservience, then to that extent the discipline aspect of the bàrzum is impaired. In other words, power will be weakened because the compound head's authority, i.e. his ability to secure performance of his decisions will vary with his ability to make his subordinates sensitive to his authority. Because of his ascribed role as father a man can always expect some bàrzum from his son. However, to make the relationship work he must continually perform the actions which create and maintain subservience.

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571 Thus, in the diagram above of the traditional patrilocal extended family grouping,[1] the son (7) will soon be moving out to form his own compound. The son is at present very sensitive to his father's commands. The father gave him his farm, his bride-wealth, his horse, and at present supplements his income. The son, being the only male heir, stands to gain a comparatively large inheritance plus a political office which he values upon his father's death. Consequently, the son is not going to move his household very far away when he sets up his own compound and is not going to demand

[1] [cf. p. 86]

593 596 complete autonomy even when his new residence pattern has been
571 established. On the other hand, the father is only a lower link in
593 a large, complex political system, and the father's relationships to
557 those above him are carefully scanned by the son. If the father should fall out of favour in the total political organization of Bornu, then to that extent his degree of power over his son may diminish, for the son being desirous of eventually stepping into the father's shoes is also sensitive to higher authorities than those of his immediate residential grouping. The continued loyalty and subservience of the son is therefore a function of the father's beneficence and his total position in the society at large. Certainly the bonds of consanguinity enter to thicken the tie between them, but a continued violation of the above methods of making the relationship work, i.e. validating the relationship, would lead to the possibility of the son looking for a more beneficent superior, real father notwithstanding. The father-son relationship would then have more formal bérsum (respect) than actual functioning power and authority involved. Because of the ascribed nature of the real father role, however, the relationship can never be totally divested of authority. He can always secure some little performance of action on the part of the son, which the culture sanctions, such as attendance at family weddings, funerals, etc. although his power, i.e. his ability to make decisions about action for his son's behaviour is more highly variable and requires more careful cultivation if it is to be as diffuse as is ideally desired in the patrilocal family organization.

571 If the foregoing description seems too mechanistic, it is
557 a result of the example chosen to illustrate the phenomena. In this

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557 case the factors are easily isolated and can be held up to view because of the manipulation of the power and authority ingredients of the relationship by the people involved and the prominent part they play in the continuity of the interaction. In the give and take of ordinary day to day life, however, the thresholds of decision-making vary tremendously from person to person. Some complain continually of their present set of relationships but never seem to change; others complain and are also highly motivated to obtain more profitable ties, while others who seem content suddenly inform their friends that they are leaving their present set of arrangements because they can link up more profitably elsewhere. To explain this variability would require a psychological analysis of each individual's motivation, plus a thorough knowledge of the total scale of his social relationships, since the more persons one knows and the farther they are spread out over the society as a whole, the easier it is to shift from one set of relationships to another. Persons who have remained in one locality all their lives naturally tend as they grow older to become more identified with the particularities of the area. Their scale of relationships is restricted spatially and thus the range of profitable possibilities for changing social relations is [554] narrowed. Again as a general rule, biologically ascribed relationships of a kinship or non-kinship (i.e. slavery) variety tend to be more durable than achieved ones, in Bornu as in all societies.

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621 In another residence grouping, a man was observed to have obtained a good deal of power and authority over quite a large group of adjacent semi-independent compound units. These included the man's own compound, containing his two wives, the next compound

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592 which housed his married son and wife and their child, and his other
621 son who was a full brother to the first. Across from his son's compound was that of his full younger sibling and wife (no children) and next to that of his full younger sibling was the compound of his patrilateral parallel male cousin who is married and has two children. All these groupings are semi-separate compounds, but have openings in the straw mat walls from one into the other. They are all semi-independent economic units, having their own farms and dry season activity, which for all of them, except the senior man in question,
[426] is calabash carving and marketing. The senior man is a money-lender
[651] and has comparatively large farm holdings. He collects the tax from all the household units enumerated above and remits it to the Village
556 Head. The rest of the males involved plant, hoe and sow his farms,
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571 and go on messages to collect loans, or sell something for him. He, in turn, helps them financially when necessary, gives them gifts and
[577] represents them before the higher community authorities. They, in their turn, often manifest some rebelliousness towards the senior's power but at the same time are the only people who ever openly defended the morally degrading activity of money-lending, which keeps their superior in his economically powerful position. The economic and social security which they gain by maintaining this extended household organization outweighs for them the shame of being attached to a money lender's household, as well as the annoyance in every day life of subservience to his power and authority.

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571 Thus, the manipulation of the ingredients of power and authority are major determinants of local groupings of people into operating social units, although they are imbedded in a discernible

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571 range of personal ambition, inertia, and variation in the scale of social relations. The kinds of structures which result from the natural processes of birth, maturation, marriage and death may vary and, as we have seen, result in various kinds of stresses to be incorporated into the organization. However, these can almost always be mitigated when the structure has a satisfactory operating distribution of power and authority. If not, then fissionable forces in residence structures tend to emerge and themselves determine the character of the group.

Maximal Lineages and Clans

614 It is not necessary within the scope of the present discussion to go into a full description. Nevertheless, it should be noted that traditionally Kanuri kinship included functional clans and to some extent at least, i.e. among the upper classes, maximal patri-lineages. In Chapter II, mention was made of the military use of clans in the army in the pre-1893 periods of Bornu history. All Kanuri if pressed are able to give their clan membership whose identity they generally recognise patrilineally. Exceptions were, found, however, where informants gave two clans which they identified as coming to them from their mother and their father. Nevertheless, basing judgment upon the statements of older informants it seems fairly certain that clan membership was reckoned patrilineally.

The Magumi and Kubūri clans are recognized by some to be the clans of the leading lineages of the Kanuri and Kanembu peoples respectively. It is also generally known in a rather vague way, which varies from informant to informant, that all clan members are descended from a common ancestor about whom there is sometimes an

583 This determines
434 that for the majority of the population, marriages take place from
[585] about November to the end of February. The exceptions to this rule occur among those with a steady source of income or access to loans.
583 The agnatic kin group plus own-mother, if she is able, can be counted
602 on to help as well. As we have seen in Chapter IV, exceptions to this traditional custom can be found when a relative is against a young man's marriage because it will deprive the relative of the social and economic advantages of the young man's dependence.

583 The Kanuri say that a man who is not in debt to his friends
585 after contracting and carrying out a marriage has no friends. In other
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572 words, for everyone, except the extremely wealthy, it is a mark of one's own social role in a relational network to borrow from friends at the time of one's wedding. Failure to do so is a declaration by implication that the marrying individual does not trust his friends well enough to become obligated to them. His friends may also suspect that he has enough liquid capital to be independent of them (and benevolent superiors). Such action may easily lead to a flurry of attempts to borrow money from the prospective bridegroom as soon as the wedding is over.
583 Finally, a young man may expect and borrow money from anyone, besides
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426 the above, to whom he renders service and to whom he gives discipline-
571 respect. Indeed a compound head or any political figure knows that lending and giving money for weddings is a primary method of maintaining subservience of subordinates.

583 In Kanuri society there are two related ways of regarding
585 the cost of carrying out a marriage (male speaking). Firstly, there is the cost of the entire proceedings, including cloth purchases, gifts of sundries, soap, perfumes, oil, a ram, fees to participant friends, entertainers, bridewealth, etc., minus the gifts from the girl's family and

437 583 The discussion of marriage has served to illustrate attitudes and behaviour within contractual relations in which goods and services are exchanged between persons and groups. Bridewealth is given by the man and his group of relatives and friends to the girl and her group. The closer the marriage is to being the woman's first, the more likely it is that her luwali (dispenser of marriage rights) and kin group take the bridewealth payments rather than the woman herself. [426] [571] Men borrow from relatives, friends, and superiors to obtain the money for marriage expenses. Thus a man's social relational network in Bornu is an important part of his capital reserve.

58 The Kanuri classify marriages into two major categories - virgin or first marriage (female speaking) and marriage with a woman who has been married before. Marriages are further subdivided on the basis of the kinds of relationships established by the wedding. The relationship between the man and woman may entail the seclusion of the wife within the compound (nyia kulle). This is not strictly an either/or category but rather a matter of degree, since all Kanuri men like to see their wives remain in the compound as much as possible. However, only the upper classes can afford to maintain and enforce such a relationship. The remaining categories can be regrouped under two headings. Firstly, there are marriages in which a man obtains a wife by virtue of his relationship to an extended household organization and its head. The household head uses his luwali role (and in some cases his influence over other luwali) to either strengthen or create obligatory relationships with other men. In some cases, these unions take the form of cousin marriages (nyia durbe). In others, they merely emphasize already existing superior/subordinate relationships, while in still others, they serve as the initiating circumstance for an attempt at such a relationship. As we have seen, gift marriage (nyia

CHAPTER VI

The Life Cycle

121 In the material to follow it is taken for granted that Kanuri culture and society have a perpetuity beyond the individual life span. That is to say, there is a cultural tradition and an ordered social life into which the individual is socialised.

561 As individuals pass through various phases of life in Bornu, they are at any one time identified as occupying one of a serially related set of roles, one for each sex. These are not the [571] only roles occupied by members of the society. Kanuri social organisation is complex and heterogeneous, so that an infant may be a farmer's infant, a blacksmith's, the child of a noble family and so on. However, everyone in Bornu is at one time an infant, a child, an adult or an old person and it is this universal set of serially related roles which is referred to here as the age status system. Although these roles are individually experienced they have their definition in the social life of the individual as he passes from birth to death. Thus, despite the fact that there is a rough correlation between age statuses and the physiological phases of life, a more profound and precise understanding of age statuses can be accomplished through a description of the social roles of developing individuals.

Birth

844 At birth the mother is assisted by a midwife (sartáma). Her own mother may be present if she is in the vicinity as well as [846] other women in the compound and neighbouring compounds. The husband must set by a store of firewood which is used for hot baths around the time of parturition and during the forty-day confinement period after birth.

597 people in terms of his real father and mother. The following interview material illustrates these ideas in concrete terms.

> [565] I asked Mallam Aba Kiari his opinion of the practice of giving away infants just after they were weaned. He told me that he, himself, had been given away. I asked if this was a good thing. "Oh yes, very, very good," came the reply. He estimated that about four or five out of ten children of the higher ranks of society had been given away after weaning, although he felt that among the peasants the number was much lower because they needed children in their compounds for the help they could give. He had been given to his father's full sister just after he was weaned. This was arranged before he was born. (The informant is the first of two children from the same union). He stayed with his aunt for about nine years, he always called her *bawa* (Fa-Sis). Everyone always told him who his own mother and father were; they lived in the same town and he often went to visit them at their compound. [601] He addressed the husband of his father's sister as *ba'a* or *aba* (father) but always knew that this man was a stranger to him and his family.
>
> I asked him why he thought it was a good thing to give infants away. He answered that it was a very good thing because — if you have a child or perhaps more than one, then your friend, or brother or sister, who have never been able to have any children, experience the joys of parenthood if they are given yours to raise. You lose nothing by doing this kind of thing, for the child is still yours and knows it. [842] Did he not receive his milk at the breast of your wife? Is he not the result of your own sexual intercourse?
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> 597 603 "But most people give their children to its grandparents," I said. "Why is that?"
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> "Ah, because they (grandparents) love the child very much and will be kind and gentle to it. You are a father and the child must have shame and respect for you, but a very small child knows nothing of such things."

597 571 Whether or not Kanuri adoptions exist for the reasons given by informants, it is certain that they do create, maintain, and strengthen wider social relationships, giving them a solid basis for continuity through time. The links between two residence groups, either in the same kinship system or between different ones, are made concrete and real. The child, by living in intimate contact and having primary social relations both in his biological family and his adoptive family has widened his primary relationships and solidified a definite contin-

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571 uity into his own generation of one link or agent of his parents' relational network in the society.

861 After weaning (and perhaps adoption) the steady, inexorable process of socialization training begins to be applied to the child. 863 Toilet training is geared to the acquisition of walking skills. As soon as the child is able to toddle on its feet the adult woman in whose hut it lives starts enforcing the rule that the child should go outside of the hut, stoop on the ground and use only the left hand for any function having to do with toilet activities. Failure to learn these skills is met with more insistent pressure as time goes on. A young child only recently weaned who cannot accomplish facile toilet functions may not even be scolded. However, with increased age and language skill, admonitions soon begin and are given with increasing frequency; the child is told that it is dirty, bad, and that it must not do such things as urinate on the hut floor. The severity depends upon the particular situation, the age of the child, and the mood and personality of the mother, grandmother, or other socializing agent who may be quite calm on some occasions and rather angry on others. The following excerpt from notes taken by the writer's wife describe a socialization situation:

> If Kachella gana (aged two) visiting my house makes a puddle on the cement floor, his grandmother will ask for a tin of water to pour on the floor and to wash the child, and this will be done either with no comment at all or, "Oh Kachella, look what you have done." On such occasions Kachella does not show much discomfort. But if the child is sleeping on his grandmother's bed and wakes up wet, he may hear, "Get up! get up! You dirty little boy" and so on for four or five minutes. During such an outburst Kachella is liable to be sitting on the floor howling piteously, which gives rise to increased consequences. Another child is told to bring a soft corn stock, which granny waves menacingly as she cautions Kachella to "Stop! Stop! Stop!" and having achieved the desired effect, puts down the corn stock beside her as
> 000 a warning. We have never seen anyone hit a small child, but

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mitted to as a superior whose authority is unquestioned. In other cases, mallams near at hand or in the compound take up the job and the [871] child is not forced to leave home. Today there is the added possibility of receiving religious instruction in the government schools. However, this is still rare in rural areas.

591 By the age of ten or twelve years, a young Kanuri boy may have lived in quite a number of households. One informant related how he was adopted by his grandfather at weaning, given to a wandering mallam at the age of six, entered Junior Primary School as a boarder at nine, and entered the service of a District Head at the age of thirteen. This is not an extreme case, especially when the high rate of divorce is considered. Thus a young boy or girl, especially the former, can find himself in one to five or more different households or primary
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group settings by the time he has reached early adolescence. It may be proper here to ask who is the authority figure in the young child's life; who is it that in his person embodies or symbolizes authority? And the answer is of fundamental importance —— no one. The Kanuri child learns, whether he lives in one compound or many, that his society is a system of ranked hierarchies in which there are many people to whom he must give respect and subordination.

Puberty

561 By the end of childhood, as the Kanuri define it (which means somewhere between the ages of nine to thirteen), the sex roles and many of their accompanying behaviours have been established. From this period onward the development towards adult status is sharply dif-
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ferentiated for males and females. Somewhere around puberty a young girl is given in virgin marriage by her father or the person who has been designated as having the power of marriage dispensation over her. Male

881 304 [571] and questions like these are the determining factors in the timing of a circumcision ceremony and they point to the major functions of the event. Certainly it marks publicly the opening of the gates on the roadway to manhood for the young boy, but, much more importantly, it validates, strengthens and dramatizes the relational network of ties that the family and the household maintain and attempt to promote in the society.

As would be expected in a stratified society there is much variation in the elaborateness of the circumcision ceremony, depending upon the rank of the family involved, the number of boys being circumcised together, and the upward mobility motivations of the family head. Generally speaking, the period of circumcision is fifteen days. In the traditional ceremonies the boys are cut at a first and smaller celebration and then remain in their compounds for fifteen days, after which a large ceremony is held.

"They must eat good food and rest until their wound heals," said one informant. The consensus of opinion seems to be that it is "better" to have a group of boys circumcised together rather than singly. This may include several boys from one large extended family. More often the ceremony is initiated by a person of higher rank, such as a hamlet head, a Village Head, a District Head, or some person of noble family. People of lesser rank who have some subordinate relationship then try, or are asked, to have their own sons included. Social distances between the families concerned are, however, not exceptionally great. Thus a peasant's son might conceivably have been circumcised with a hamlet head's son or perhaps even a Village Head's son but it would be most unlikely that he would reach much higher in

428 571 121 of system is developed to order this common human problem. Because it is perhaps one of the most fundamental determinants in directing the course of continuity in the social process, it would be well to understand clearly what are the implications and problems created in the system of rules outlined above.

428 578 613 Two common kinds of conflicts arise from the Kanuri inheritance system: a minor and perhaps even invigorating one, and a major and fundamental one which strikes at the unity of the agnatic lineage. The first and minor conflict is that which arises between a deceased's wife, supported by her agnates on the one side, and the agnatic group of her dead husband on the other. She may claim that some of the property of her dead husband really belongs to her, often because she loaned him some of her property and he died before he could give it back. In this type of dispute, the agnatic relations of the deceased act corporately as defendant, while the widow and her [571] agnates are a corporate plaintiff. The end result in terms of social relations in this kind of conflict is to strengthen the agnatic lineage structure of the society.

The second type of conflict can be expressed as a split between collaterallity, as represented by the agnatic siblings of the deceased on the one hand, and linearity as represented by the [692] father-son relationship on the other. This type of dispute which is rarely seen in the courts occurs between a dead man's male siblings and his sons, over the distribution of his property. By traditional law the sons have more rights than their paternal uncles to their father's inheritance, given that they are of age (which sometimes becomes the basis of the argument). However, no clear cut either/or

000 555 871 in Bornu, itself, by Kanuri. It is recognised, especially in the upper ranks of society and among the urban masses, that some western education is a prerequisite for successful advancement in political offices and in the civil service in general. Because the government educational system is not entirely controlled by the existing Kanuri office-holders it has proved to be a method of recruitment into high status positions that allows for a certain measure of social mobility.(1) One informant, the eldest son of a deceased District Head, is related to the royal family of Bornu. His fondest wish is to be appointed some day to the position of District Head which he feels is his birthright. But he has no formal western education, knows very little Hausa, and therefore has very little chance of ever achieving this aspiration.

463 571 With the expansion of all governmental services since the end of World War II, there has developed a large group of young civil servants, all of them western educated to some extent, and in varying degrees, who are referred to by the local British as "the mallams" or "the young mallams".(2) They are the clerks, agricultural field assistants, teachers, sanitary inspectors, veterinary assistants, 571 [212] medical dispensers, etc. They read newspapers in Hausa and English, own radios, wrist watches, socks, European made shoes, bicycles, and

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871 563 (1) That there is still much control exerted is illustrated by the school-boy population in Maiduguri which was used for questionnaire purposes by the writer. Of the 168 boys in the secondary and the senior primary schools, 21 were of the Babur tribe; of the 21 Babur boys, only two were (by their own admission) in the secondary school, while 19 were in the senior primary. The Kanuri majority has less control over the students from the districts who are chosen to attend the central urban senior primary school than they do over who is to receive promotion from senior primary to secondary school. In such a discriminatory atmosphere, many non-Kanuri youngsters change their names to more Kanuri-sounding ones.

(2) cf. Leith-Ross, S., The Development of a Middle Class in the Federation of Nigeria. Paper delivered at the 29th Session of the International Institute of Differing Civilizations in London, September 1955.

571 aspire to higher positions in the Bornu political organization. They will be considered in greater detail later.

125 In order to assess more accurately current trends in occupational
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554 status among the young western educated group, the senior
primary and secondary school population was asked to rank 55 occupations
using the same "freedom of choice" instructions employed above for
the questionnaire on the various ethnic groups. It was hoped that
the methodology would elicit level of aspiration rather than level of
achievement scores so that some objective measure of the status ratings
128 of these occupations could be obtained. It is felt that the high
463 position given to such status positions as Shehu and Wasiri indicate
554 that the boys were responding in terms of the actual prestige given
to the status rather than judging the position by whether or not it
was open to them personally. Although significant differences have not
been analysed, some observable differences in the scores of the younger
boys as compared to the older boys are suggestive, and therefore these
125 data have been presented separately. The young boys (age 13-15) had
African teachers while the older boys have among their teachers Europeans
as well as Africans. As in the previous case the test was administered
in the Kanuri language.

463 Despite the high correlation between the two groups, it
554 is possible that there are differences in the evaluation of high status
184 occupations among the younger as compared to the older boys. This is
indicated by the fact that of the twenty most highly rated occupations
the younger boys average (cardinal) rank for European jobs was 9.7,
while the older boys average (cardinal) rank for the same variety of
job was 11.7. On the other hand, the younger boys average (cardinal)

[text continues on p. 203]

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558 The literal translation of wujirma is illuminating since it points to the sector of behaviour believed to be associated with spendthriftiness. Litterally the term means a man who initiates many ceremonies and celebrations (wujir), and goes to a great many as a participant. So [571] many, in fact, that this is a major occupation with him. As in many societies, Kanuri ceremonial participation validates an individual's membership in a relational network. Thus kin members who do not attend one another's ceremonies are "far kin" to each other. By going to many ceremonies a man may be trying to enter into and create many more relationships than he can actually afford. Since he does not have the material resources to sustain his mutual obligations with all these people, his behaviour is considered foolish and imprudent.

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533 Related to this kind of behaviour but somewhat different to it is the excessive giving of money to praise-singing drummer-entertainers for a few moments of publicly bought acclaim. One young civil servant in Maiduguri was strongly motivated by a desire for increased status. He related how he had become enraged at a dance one evening in the city because he had only one pound to give to the praise-singers (the informant's salary was £7.10.0 per month). He spent the pound very quickly and then other young men took over and gave money while he remained as an onlooker to the singing of his age-mate's praises. Before the evening was over he had spent fourteen pounds of government (N.A.) funds that he was carrying, in his desire to compete with the others for the services of the praise-singers. Praise-singers often attempt to shame people into giving more money than they can afford in order to have their praises sung longer and more loudly. Most informants consider consistent over-giving, in this respect, to be

556 533 [171] foolish, and call persons who behave this way *wujirma*. On the other hand, as Smith points out for the Hausa, the giving of money to praise-singers by wealthy and powerful men, or the maintenance of a personal band, which is customary for District Heads and the Shehu, is perfectly legitimate conduct and validates their high status.(1)

556 The optimum use of wealth is described as *kâre*. The *kam kâre* (roughly the wisely generous man) is he who uses his wealth for his own benefit, and that of his family, friends and supporters. He does not have to go into debt to achieve his goal, for he is strong enough to know how to balance that which he has, against that which his social relationships require of him. Since there is always pressure from others for property use, and this is reinforced by a desire on the part of many individuals to give, in order that their status may be enhanced or raised, it takes a strong self-confident person, or a very wealthy one, to fit the ideal behaviour associated with the *kam kâre*.

556 571 The chief difficulty with the achievement of this ideal of balanced generosity is that there is an enormously greater number of people looking for benefactors in the society than there are benefactors with property surpluses who can absorb them, and satisfy their wants. Any man of any social rank whatever can always find a multitude of persons who would willingly become his *tada* or *tada njima* (his boy, his son, his loyal subordinate) and people of lower rank continually ask and beg others with more property to give it to them. They say to the higher status person, "You are rich," "You have many shirts", You are powerful", "You have much food", and so on, and then finally, "*Wuro she*" (Give to

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(1) See Smith, M.G. *The Social Functions and Meaning of Hausa Praise-Singing*, *Africa*, Vol. XXVII, no. 1, (January 1957) pp. 26-45.

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571 me a . . ."). This validates the higher status of the person being asked to give and can strengthen or initiate an obligatory subordination of some kind on the part of the would-be receiver. But, because there are so many more potential receivers than possible donors, all informants felt that it was always wise to keep quiet about the exact proportions of one's wealth in order to limit the amount of requests which widespread knowledge of property surpluses would bring.

It should be noted here that this imbalance of donors and receivers and the culturally defined potentiality of their interrelationship, offers a much travelled route for social mobility in Bornu. _Any_ man who obtains material surpluses may begin to use his property to obtain discipline-respect (_bərzum_) relationships with an expanding [558] group of followers. Contrarily, a man whose material wealth is declining finds his followers less apt to remain within his organization. This is one of the primary elements in the operation of political and economic power.

An example of what this can mean in every day life is seen in the following example. In Magumeri the local school teacher who is on a monthly civil service salary is considered moderately wealthy by local rural standards. During an interview, at the writer's house, the teacher became increasingly nervous and fidgety, continually watching a rather elderly peasant who seemed to hover around the base of a tree about twenty yards in front of the house. Towards the end of the afternoon, the informant interrupted the conversation to ask whether the writer had seen the man near the tree. He then complained bitterly that this man was no friend or relation to him, but had been begging for a hat (price, four to eight shillings) for the last few weeks. The

556 571 teacher said he would wait in the anthropologist's house until the man left so that it would be possible to return to his compound without being accosted by the man and his request. During the conversation that followed, the informant described how he felt somewhat ashamed at not being able to give freely to everyone who asked him for things, but knew that if he did so he would rapidly be reduced to poverty. Besides, he said, giving once leads to expectations in the future of similar generosity both by the receiver and others. He closed the conversation by saying that he thought that this difficulty over gift-giving and generosity versus spendthriftiness and miserliness, was the most difficult problem in Bornu social life.

556 183 What this means is that the ideal of kbre (wise generosity) is extremely difficult to achieve for the mass of the population. For the very rich who are able to distribute much wealth to many loyal and potentially loyal followers, this is less problematical. But for the great majority of Bornu society there is a constant conflict between the desire to validate status and raise it on the one hand, and on the other, the necessity to maintain some solvent standard of living for oneself. This points to a great difference between European and Kanuri cultural tradition. In the West it is considered virtuous to save rather than spend, and the individual obtains some satisfaction both internally and through the praise of others for this behaviour. The Kanuri can receive public recognition of high or low status by their use of property both for themselves and others, i.e. consumption. [454] This has resulted in a positive evaluation of covert or secret savings, which tends to partially relieve the conflict between status validation [123] and the necessity of maintaining a standard of living. This is the reason why Kanuri friends were forever telling the author not to reply

565 one of the other
369 common features of the *tala* or peasant class is the *verticality* of
• 571 their social relations. This is especially true of political affilia-
tions. All rural and most or many urban *tala* can give an easily elici-
ted answer to the question, "Whose *tala* are you?" The person questioned
then tells the name of his *Lawan* (Village Area Head).(1) Thus *tala* not
only connotes peasant or commoner, it also means *someone's* peasant, i.e.
[178] under the jurisdiction of some political office holder. The fact that
there is in the city a small but growing number of people who do not
feel this verticality or connectedness upward in a traditional manner is
one of the most profound portents of social change in contemporary Bornu.

565 The *tala*, rural and urban, have many cultural characteris-
369 tics in common. They most often wear a short work shirt (*dankiki*) dur-
ing the day, and their conversation is less etiquette ridden and more
direct than that of the upper class. Linguistic usages among the *tala*
vary from place to place, but generally involve the dropping of some of
the consonantal phonemes. Thus in Magumeri *musko* (hand) was pronounced
muko by the *tala*. These linguistic differences are considered to be
less elegant and correct compared to the speech of the upper class. As
in many class societies the speech of the lower classes is coloured by
many words which the upper class considers to come within the scope of
profanity. Thus a Kanuri *tala* always sprinkles his friendly conversa-
tion with many references to Allah or to "the wonder of Allah", or even
occasional exclamatory references to excrement and the excretory func-
[828] tions. To the upper classes evil deeds are committed by evil men (*kam
dibi*); the same wrongdoer is more often referred to with an epithet like
________ *shege*! (a bastard) by the *tala*.

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[633] (1) The city is divided into large wards with *Lawans* as their Head Men and Hamlet Heads (*Bulama*) as the heads of sub-wards.

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[171] levelling processes between the two large segments of the society. It is because of this status aspect of class that Kanuri, like ourselves, have a ludicrous image of the arriviste - the person who has some of the attributes of upper class society, but who can never learn all of them, for he is not "to the manor born".

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562 This account of the social organization of Bornu has been heavily weighted towards the male society. This is due admittedly to the primary male associations of the anthropologist. However, it can also be put down to the strongly male-centred framework of the social structure.

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562 The dimensions of status discussed above, of tribe, occupation, wealth, birth, rural/urban residence and class, hold as well for women as for men. But for the most part (leaving aside highly independent women, who tend to create their own status) a woman's social position can be more fully understood by tracing her relationship to the various males in her patrilineage, and her married life. Briefly, a woman receives relatively high or low status from three sources, (1) her agnatic descent group and its status in the society, (2) the status of her husband, and (3) her personal wealth. The interrelation of these three factors changes through time for each woman as well as varying from woman to woman, but they are the basis of judgements by self and others which set a woman high or low in the society. It will be noticed that (1) and (2) both refer not to the woman's status, but to that of males to whom she is related either by marriage or descent.

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571 It is claimed that traditionally the women in Bornu were more highly organized than at present. There were titled heads to a total association of women, who were organised in similar manner to the

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554 guilds.(1) The *Ma'aram* or Shehu's sister, and the *Maira*, the King's
562 mother were the head women of the state. There was also a *Do'oma* or
• 571 head of *zowar* (unmarried divorced women) for the entire state, as well
[644] as the *Gumsu*, the senior wife of the Shehu. Each town had its own
local head of women and head of the unmarried divorced women under the
[574] titled heads in the capital. When visitors or an army regiment arrived
the total community of women could easily be organized under their
leaders to prepare food and proper lodging for the strangers. The
titled women in the capital were invested to their offices in male robes.

178 The title *Do'oma* (head of *zowar*) is said to have fallen into
554 disuse after the fall of the first dynasty at the beginning of the nine-
562 teenth century, but was revived in 1925 by Shehu Sanda. It exists today
[644] but has no reference to *zowar*. Informants around the palace claimed
that except for the title of *Maira* (Queen Mother, but now held by any
senior patri-female relative of the Shehu), the *Gumsu* (the Shehu's sen-
ior wife) chooses the women to receive the titles of *Ma'aram* and *Do'oma*.
554 Although it was not observed, informants claimed that at big celebra-
562 tions of state, the titled women must wear their men's robes of office,
527 men's hats, and walk with their special men's sticks. This ceremonial
transvestism emphasizes the congruency of nobility, authority, and
prestige with maleness.

554 In contemporary Bornu, the word *ma'aram* has come to mean
562 the local head of the unmarried women, who are not linked very closely
[431] into any overall state organization. It is customary for the women when
they marry to give her a small payment, *fataka* (Kanuri for two shillings)
which the men give to the *Lawan* (Village Area Head) before the marriage.
[476] The women are organized as a semi-formal work force under the *ma'aram*
for quite traditional purposes.

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(1) See below pp. 269-270.

Chapter VIII

Political Organization

631 The political organization in Bornu can be seen as a continuum of power and authority running from small to large scale structures. These include the extended household organization, the hamlet and ward, the village area, the district, and finally the state, which today has a place in the Northern Region and the Federation of Nigeria.
[648] In Bornu, each expansion of the scale of the organization includes part or all of the previous one, while cross-cutting the entire system and intersecting it with varying intensities at different levels is the colonial administration.

621 The Hamlet and the Ward

Within the point of view of the present discussion the basic unit of political structure is the extended household organization
[571] with its head as the primary governmental figure. The processes of fission and fusion by which these units expand or contract withih themselves has already been described (see above pp. 80 - 92).
571 There is however a larger scaled process of fission and fusion which
621 integrates that previously discussed with a wider political organization. This is the underlying process of Hamlet and Ward formation. The following examples illustrate this process in action.

[361] Approximately three miles south-west of Magumeri is the
[632] small village of Oworongo (pop. circa 250) which falls within the
[249] administrative jurisdiction of the town area of Magumeri. Surrounding
[276] the town are small plots of a specialized crop (gworongo)(1) which is sold
[302] in the local markets along with tobacco flowers as a stimulant and a cosmetic for colouring women's teeth. In 1953 one of these full-time

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(1) Solanacea Incanum

571 621 166 In 1953 one of these full-time gworongo farmers whose holdings were somewhat above the average, moved his household three-quarters of a mile to the northwest of Gworongo Hamlet to be closer to his fields.(1) With him he took his two wives and a younger brother and his wife. The younger brother also had fields at this spot through inheritance. Two sons moved as well. One has since left to go and live with his father's brother in Maiduguri, and one was preparing for a patrilocal marriage in 1957. A stranger to Gworongo Hamlet arrived in 1954 and cut a bush farm for himself about one mile to the north of the 1953 settlement. He had no wife at the time and reports that he asked the original mover if he might build a hut near the new settlement and take his meals with its head. For this hospitality he helped mend the owner's bramble fences on the gworongo plots, repaired household fences and huts, and sometimes gathered grass for the senior's horse. He has since married (with some financial help in the form of a loan and a gift from the settlement head) and is not a 62 settled member of the new community-in-the-becoming. All residents of this new settlement look upon the founder as its senior member, and when he dies his son (in the settlement) will take over the headship. Disputes between members are always taken to the senior for settlement before going to any higher authorities (which has never been done), while disputes with outsiders follow the general rule of going first to a pol- 621 itical leader superior in rank to both participants. The new settlement does not yet have a name; however, in all likelihood, if it continues to grow and expand it will be called Aji or Ajiri after the original founder whose name is Aji.

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(1) This is the reason given by the farmer himself. Local gossip has it that he had quarrelled with the Hamlet Head of Gworongo over taxes.

571 This same process has occurred at Fàllatari, a tiny settle-
621 ment of five interdependent households, one mile west of Magumeri. Here
a semi-nomadic Fulani herdsman settled about 1947 with several brothers.
They asked the permission of the Magumeri Village Area Head for this
privilege before settling. They have some cows but are today prim-
arily sedentary agriculturalists. The original brothers have now been
joined by two strangers, also Fulani, and the settlement now has the
political status of a Hamlet, with the original founder as the Ward or
Hamlet Head -*Bulama*.

621 The political status of the first settlement still con-
632 nects it in a subordinate manner to the parent Hamlet of Gworongo. All
the people of Gworongo and those of the new settlement call themselves
tala Lawan Minabe - the peasants of Lawan Mina - the Village Area Head
[651] of Magumeri and its surrounding cluster of hamlets. The founder col-
lects the taxes from the other males of the new settlement and gives
it to the Village Head of Magumeri. He would rather take disputes with
other community members to the Magumeri Village Area Head for adjud-
571 ication, than to the Hamlet Head of Gworogo and does so. As the years
621 pass, and if the new settlement prospers and expands, bit by bit the
622 founder or his heir in this embryo Hamlet will come to be identified
as a *Bùlama* (Hamlet Head). As long as people live in the settlement,
the heir to the founder's compound will have the status of Hamlet Head
and represent the little community as its political leader to those in
the hierarchy above him. He will in turn be the instrument through
which the political control of those below him is exerted by the wider
political organization of the state.

361 In the following diagram of the new settlement near Gworongo,
it should be noted that although the Hamlet-to-be has not yet taken on

[Text continues on p. 233]

361 the typical U-shape of a Kanuri town, its embryonic form can be seen in the arrangement of the households, and as the founder claimed, if it continues to grow, the pattern will emerge more clearly.

571 632 621 The same process of establishing small jurisdictional units of political organization goes on in the larger towns within the wards. In Magumeri town, one ward (*nguro*) under its *Bùlama* is slowly approaching the condition where another *Bùlama* will be empowered and the ward split in two. It is now a large ward, of twenty-five households. Within this unit one man has his own organization of extended households. These include several of his younger brothers and sons with their wives and children. He collects taxes from all of these households and delivers it directly to the Village Area Head of Magumeri. However, he recognizes the authority of the present ward head in settling disputes and always consults the latter first, before taking a matter to any higher authority. One of his sons has married a girl from the household of the present ward head which also links the two organizations. However, if the smaller organization of households continues to expand as its senior man predicted it would, then he, and after him his heir, will eventually become the fully accepted heads of their own ward.

621 571 We can now explain more precisely what is meant in this study by the term *extended household organization*. It is based on or modelled after a patrilocal extended family organization, but may include non-kin members as well as kin who are all subordinated in some way to the authoritative head. At the local level, the term applies to a territorial unit of closely contiguous compounds each with its own head, but with some form of subordination to the organizational head of the larger unit. If the extended household head can maintain the

If the extended household head can maintain the
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571 subordination of his followers, then he is on the way to becoming a
554 "big" man which may eventually mean his attainment of the political
622 position of Hamlet or ward head (Bàlama), depending upon the location
of his settlement. This achieved status is then stabilized through
the inheritance rules.

The Village Area

632 The small village area includes a town cluster of adjoining
compounds (usually 500-2000 population) and a surrounding group of small
settlements (Hamlets) in the immediate area. The larger towns are
broken down into wards, and as we have seen the ward head and the
hamlet head have the same political status, that of Bàlama. This is
due to their similar political roles as local leaders under the Lawan
633 (Village Area Head). In larger cities such as Maiduguri, Geidam, or
Nguru, the "wards" of the city include such large populations that
their head men receive the title of Lawan. These Lawans in turn have
Bàlama under them as heads of sub-ward divisions in their jurisdictional area.

632 In the town of Magumeri, the Lawan has jurisdiction over all
[565] persons in the Village Area who describe themselves as his peasants.
This excludes all persons who are directly subordinate to the District
[651] Head, the Judge, or the N.A. in Maiduguri. Formally he collects a
Haraji (assessment) tax from everybody except the District Head, but
in reality, he has little political control over anyone who has functioning attachments to the Bornu N.A.

632 The Lawan acts as his own ward head, of the nguro Lawantari
621 (the Lawan's ward), and many of the compounds in this ward house the
followers of Lawan, i.e. the members of his extended household organization. Some of the householders had compounds in this ward long before

632 621 Lawan arrived. They look upon Lawan as their leader, but also feel more deeply rooted to their place of residence. This group has seen several Lawans come and go and if Lawan were to consistently overstep the limits of his authority, they would not be averse to complaining about him to his superiors. Their goodwill and support must be sought by Lawan, and they must not be administered to their perpetual detriment. 632 Indeed this check on the Lawan's power applied to all his tala (peasants) many of whom know that they can complain of misrule to his superiors. Another check which any tala has over his political superior is migration. He can always move to some other town where he is treated more judiciously. All political leaders, especially Lawans and District Heads, are aware of these checks on their power and are to varying degrees influenced by them.

632 621 571 In Magumeri, the Lawan's own extended household organization includes his son, and about twenty followers under a chief follower (Wakil). Each of the men in this organization has a household of his own somewhere in Lawan's ward (they are not necessarily contiguous), and farmland given to him by Lawan. They receive economic aid from their superior in the form of food, clothing, money, etc., and a status in the extended household organization of the Lawan. Peasants often ask them to intercede for them with the Lawan, or to help them in arranging a meeting between disputants with Lawan as judge.

The members of Lawan's extended household organization are his "administrative staff". They keep in touch with gossip, especially political news; aid in raising taxes; act as contact men for anyone wishing to see him; help him on his farms; and carry messages for him. His followers on foot and horse give him as well the appearance of being what he is, a man cut above his peasant subjects, a local ruler.

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571 If the Lawan moves to another town, or is dismissed, the
persons who are his tada move with him, while his tala (peasants) wait
patiently for a new Lawan to collect taxes and to settle their disputes.

632 Wisely, the Lawan's son in Magumeri stays out of any active
871 leadership role in his father's organization. His job as the adult
education (literacy) organizer for the District of Magumeri, keeps him
travelling much of the time and he never interferes with the political
organization which he may one day inherit. During the entire period of
the field trip he was never once observed taking any role of power and
authority towards any of his father's followers, all of whom treated
[554] him with deference. His father is one of the few enthusiastic supporters
of adult education and enforces its innovation quite vigorously
in his own jurisdictional area, since he knows that this will raise his
son's political respectability in the Bornu N.A.(1)

632 All land use rights in the village area except hereditary
423 usufruct are vested in the Lawan. However, dispensation of land use
[622] rights can, in practice, be carried out by Hamlet Heads within the hamlet
boundaries, although all such decisions must be cleared with Lawan
632 before their final validation. The Lawan is also approached and told
of all land rentals which he witnesses. As noted before he is paid a
fee for witnessing marriages and ratifying divorces, and he hears and
tries disputes involving his peasants. Indeed most peasants feel more
secure about any decisions they have made affecting their neighbours

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[208] (1) The Magumeri Village Area peasants are nevertheless not responding very keenly to adult education. They find Lawan's enthusiasm for literacy rather confusing, since one of the main propaganda themes given to innovators by the N.A. (designed by the British) is the alleged skill that literacy gives the peasants in ascertaining whether or not their tax receipts actually correspond to their payments. The fact that it is the Lawan who taxes them - and overtaxes them they believe - and he as well who prods them to learn to read, is one reason why they are mistrustful of the literacy campaign.

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One of the informants offered the information that if he did not pay zakat to his Lawan, his farmland would be taken away from him. Checking this information proved to be difficult, since no cases were ever reported or observed. Consequently, people only speculated about the results of not paying zakat. The belief that land might be confiscated if the zakat tax is not paid is not universal, but the belief that some sort of reprisal would result from non-payment is held by all peasants.

The following excerpt from field notes illustrates the kind of experience that promotes this belief if the Lawan's authority is not responded to with some degree of subordination.

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> Bukar is a newcomer to Magumeri. He has been given some land by the Lawan and when not farming plies his trade as a hat maker and mud house builder. Because he had no previous social ties in the town, he has attached himself to the Arabic teacher of the primary school, an N.A. employee and a highly respected religious practitioner. This attachment appears to Bukar because of his strong personal fears of supernatural malevolence. The Arabic teacher gives Bukar a place in the social relations of the town, plus free charms and medicines for illness and bad luck. Bukar looks after the teacher's house, repairs it, cleans it up periodically, and watches it during the latter's absence.

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> On one of these occasions of the teacher's absence, Bukar had borrowed some matting from his mentor for use in his own compound. The Lawan, in whose house there was to be a naming ceremony, needed some extra mats for temporary shelters. He sent a follower over to the Arabic teacher's to borrow some of the extra mats that were stocked in the teacher's compound. These were taken, and Bukar was asked what had become of the others. He answered that he had borrowed them and that he was in charge of watching the teacher's possessions during the latter's absence. He refused to produce the matting from his own compound and was brought to the Lawan where his defiance was rewarded by the Lawan telling him that unless he produced the extra matting so that they could be borrowed by Lawan, then he (Bukar) was no better than a common thief. Bukar still refused and the matter was dropped.
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> When the teacher returned Lawan complained to him of the disobedience and lack of respect of his man Bukar. The teacher said nothing, but instead of reprimanding Bukar, sent him to fetch back the mats borrowed by Lawan (the ceremony was over).

634 The District organization is roughly similar throughout the
twenty-one such divisions in Bornu Emirate. Each District shares the
[368] name of its chief town. This town serves as the District capital and
houses the DH and his followers, the District representatives of the
N.A., a District court house for the Alkali (District judge), and a
[491] Junior Primary School. Today most District capitals are connected to
the Emirate capital by motor road. Formally, the DH is responsible for
the administration of all village areas within the confines of his District.

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64 A DH is formally appointed and installed by the Shehu in consultation with his Council and the Colonial officials. Only high ranking men in the state are considered, and in every case but one, all present DH's are the sons of men who held the same rank. In the contemporary scene British ratification means that the choice must be weighted towards a literate English speaker wherever possible. The Shehu must feel that he is obtaining a loyal follower, and must benefit materially from the choice, by gifts in cash and kind from the would-be DH. (This latter action is illegal and unfortunately there is insufficient information for the writer to make a confident descriptive statement about gift giving by would-be office holders). Finally, the Shehu's Council must be won over or at least some of them, so that they will either support the aspirant or split on their opposition to him.

634 The DH's compound is supplied by the N.A. and is the most
[644] impressive building in town. Each DH keeps a compound in Maiduguri, in
the Shehuri (palace) ward of the city, with a residing Wakil (Chief follower) who appears at the Shehu's Court to represent his superior at the
634 palace. In the District, the DH maintains a large extended household
571 organization of followers and slaves. These live in contiguous and non-

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contiguous households close to their superior's residence. The organization has a Wakil as its sub-head who acts as DH on the few occasions when the DH is absent from his District headquarters. The general term for all male members of this extended household organisation is waladai (roughly non-kin follower) or tada Ajiabe (sons or boys [554] of the DH). The waladai, whether slave or freeborn, are also called ko'uma if they have been given a horse by the DH which gives them a higher status than the unhorsed members of the organisation. In Magumeri a few of these followers have joined the DH during their own lives, most other freeborn as well as slave, are hereditary followers of this particular DH and his father before him.

Collectively the members of this group are referred to by non-members as tada Ajiabe. When they are older and married with farms (given to them by the DH)(1) and perhaps have some dry season activity, they are at first glance hardly distinguishable from ordinary peasants. However, unlike ordinary peasants, the DH uses them as messengers and helpers in nomad cattle tax levies. They in turn never fail to ride in a gallop in the DH's honour, if they have a horse. Furthermore, they must be ready and willing to move with their leader to a new District should he be stationed elsewhere. Younger members who live either in the DH's compound or with older members of the organization are often feared by respectable townsfolk. They have no farms, no wives, and no households of their own. They talk, play cards, drink, look for amorous experiences, and are felt to be spies for the DH.

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[423] [425] (1) Within the available land of the District Headquarters there is an acreage which is under the direct dispensation of the DH and beyond the jurisdiction of the Lawan. The DH may also appropriate farm land for his own use or dispensation beyond the borders of present farming activities in the District capital.

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571 Conversation among peasants suddenly stops when one of these fellows
561 approaches the group.

634 The DH's followers are disciplined by the DH rather than
692 the local *Lawan*. Peasant legal cases usually come before the *Lawan* for adjudication. But legal cases between peasants and DH's followers are brought to the DH or the District Alkali (Muslim judge) court. The DH disciplines his followers for any high-handed treatment of peasants because such behaviour if continued unchecked can bring action against
[681] him from higher up in the state. Thus the DH Magumeri severely and publicly reprimanded his followers for misdemeanours such as assaulting peasants or not repaying debts. One member of the DH's organisation was publicly reprimanded and privately threatened with expulsion from the organization for burning down a pagan's hut because the latter would not give up his wife to the desires of the follower.

634 The followers of DH receive money, food, clothes and status
571 in the society as members of a powerful organization. In return they give him the prestige afforded to anyone who has a large retinue of loyal supporters in a culture where such followings are highly valued.
[557] Informants often remark that one DH was a "bigger" man than another
634 because he had more followers. They also serve as his executive and
571 carry out his decisions in the District. Thus in Magumeri District,
661 where not many of the people are enthusiastic about western education, the DH uses his followers to abduct children from their parents in order to fill the two classrooms of the District's only school. Another DH known to the writer assesses each *Lawan* for the amount of taxes he must raise annually with the understanding that there will be enough left over after revenue is delivered to the capital for the DH and the *Lawan* to have some cash gains. In one case a *Lawan* of the District claimed

634 571 661 that his assessment was too high. The DH promptly sent out some of his followers and gathered twice the assessment originally stipulated. He then called in the Lawan to the District capital, reprimanded him and gave back one-quarter of the excess tax raised by his followers.

631 Formally the Lawans are subordinate to the DH of their District. The DH relays information to them from the capital concerning the execution of their political duties and it is their responsibility to have these directives carried out. However, for various reasons to be discussed presently, some of the political activity of the DH is illegal under the present regulations. Therefore he often requires more than mere compliance to state regulations. As shown by the example above the DH wants cooperation and complicity in his own political organization of the District. Several factors militate against the absorption of the Lawans into the DH's organization. Firstly, the Lawan's salary and his income from taxes and political duties make him less dependent upon the DH than the latter's more disciplined followers. Secondly, the British have always viewed the Lawan's job as that of a local chief (see above pp.36-39) whose ties should be to the locality and not necessarily the DH. Nevertheless a DH's views are almost always taken into consideration by both the NA and the British when a new Lawan
631 661 is to be appointed. This last point leads to a conflict. Dismissals and transfers are common occurrences among DH's. Because DH's often manage to get a few of their loyal followers into a Lawan's job, especially in the District capital, each new DH in a District is confronted with a few Lawans who are the loyal followers of his predecessor.

The result of this structural framework is a constant manoeuvring by the DH to either win the loyalty and obedience of his Lawans or replace them with his own followers.

634 647 Lawan's section), usually near the District Head's ward. They are often
shifted from one District to another. Only one of the N. A. employees
living in Magumeri in 1956-7 had lived there for more than four years,
and almost all of them had lived in at least three towns in the previous
ten years. This mobility contributes to their social solidarity. Besides
this common experience of mobility, they are for the most part city-bred,
or at least city-trained, and form an extension of the urban bureaucracy
(571) out in the Districts. Their independent source of income from the civil
service, plus their common interests in the city and the state, make them
a separate class of cosmopolitans on the rural scene. Thus when asked to
name their best friends, these N. A. personnel almost always refer to persons
also connected with the N. A.

There is no simple formula to describe the interaction of N. A.
officials in the Districts with the DH. In some cases it is similar to
the DH/Lawan relationships when the Lawan is a follower of the DH's predecessor
in the District. In structural terms this means that the official
is not a loyal follower of the DH, but occupies some key position for which
634 the DH needs a disciplined subordinate. This occurs, for example, in the
647 651 office of District Chief Scribe. This official counts the tax revenues,
and prepares the balance sheets from the tax receipt books. Since it is
important for the DH to control the amount of tax money collected, and to
take some for himself to run his organization, he must be in close collaboration
with the Chief Scribe.

634 In Magumeri (until August 1957) the District Chief Scribe
647 661 was a loyal follower of the ex-DH who had gone to another District. All
631 efforts by the present DH of Magumeri to win the support of the Chief
Scribe have failed. Other N. A. officials told the writer that the DH

634 647 661 631 hinted at the inefficiency of the Chief Scribe to a touring British officer in 1957. After this alleged interview with the DH, the British officer stated that in his opinion there was "something going on here" and he suspected the Chief Scribe, because of a "shifty eyed look about him". In August 1957 the Chief Scribe was formally informed by the N.A. that he was being transferred to another District, with the understanding that the move was a reprimand. The DH is not free to manoeuvre someone more loyal to himself into the position of District Chief Scribe.(1)

634 647 571 In many cases the relationship between N.A. officials in the District and the DH is one of respectful but carefully maintained social distance. The N.A. personnel are usually new to the District and generally desire to move ahead in their own civil service departments. In Magumeri, these N.A. personnel are asked to appear and eat [565] with the DH between two and four times a week. This helps validate their upper class membership as a group apart from the rural population.

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(1) The total politics of this manoeuvre are more complicated than this simple outline indicates. The British officer was accompanied by a high placed N.A. official from Maiduguri in order to reprimand the DH for not collecting enough taxes. (The N.A. official later sent word by messenger from the capital apologizing for his own severity on the grounds that he could do nothing else in the presence of the British officer. He also warned the DH to increase his tax deliveries in order to avoid future trouble). For a show of efficiency, as well as to save the DH from the direct blame, it is believed by the local officials that the Chief Scribe was chosen as a scapegoat. Whether or not this is true is impossible to know; however, it is clear from his own statements that the British officer was strongly of the opinion that the Chief Scribe was in league with the DH to mulct the tax revenue, and that the removal of the Scribe would slow down these efforts by the DH. The high placed N.A. official who knew better did nothing to correct this false impression held by the Englishman. And it was this false impression that led to the Chief Scribe's removal from the District. Whether or not the DH and the N.A. official planted the idea in the Englishman's head, or whether they exploited a suspicion already there, still amounts to the same thing - the removal of the Chief Scribe for a "misdemeanour" he did not commit, in order that it might be committed in the future.

634 647 571 However, this and other moves by the DH to obtain friendship and loyalty from the N.A. employees in his area can never be totally successful in creating a unified political organization in the District. First of all, they can be moved to other Districts by their superiors and often are, thus creating the problem of new N.A. personnel constantly arriving. Secondly, their income from N.A. salaries allows them to be independent of the DH economically if they wish, while the power and authority of their own departmental superiors in the capital always acts to lessen the degree of sensitivity and possible subservience they may feel towards the DH.

631 634 647 This does not mean to imply that the N.A. employees are completely independant of the DH. In many branches of N.A. activity it is either difficult or impossible at present to initiate or continue civil service programs without a modicum of cooperation from the DH. This is another way of saying that in the rural area the independent existence of other sources of power and authority besides the line leading from Lawan through the DH to the Shehu is hardly recognized.(1)

For example, it is impossible to establish a local forest reserve without the DH issuing orders to all Lawana ordering them to cooperate with a newly arrived District representative of the Forestry Department. Or again, it is the DH who at present enforces and maintains a regular flow of children into the Junior Primary School in his District capital. On the other hand, if the DH continually refuses to cooperate with N.A. officials and civil service programs are obstructed, complaints by local N.A. personnel, plus the failure of program goals can bring sharp reprimands down upon the DH.

The DH as a titled sub-ruler under the Shehu still has a

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(1) The exception here is the European, who the peasant knows has much power.

By the judicious giving of gifts to
634 these travellers when they come to pay their respects in the District
203
[431] capital, the DH can build up a large communication network through
which he obtains a many-sided picture of events in the capital.(1) Finally
634
665 the DH is linked to a faction in the Bornu state which has its most
662 powerful leaders in the capital. Traditionally these factions emerged
• [571] from the allegiance of nobles to the various agnatic lineage segments
of the royal family. These remain today but are now joined by factions
representing some of the heads of the modern civil service. DH's linked
to more powerful factions receive better information and more protection
than those joined to weak ones. Thus the DH of Magumeri who had inherited
a factional membership from his father which linked him to an
effete second son of a former Shehu received much less support than another
DH who was linked to the faction headed by the present Wasiri
[203] (head of the Shehu's council and the N.A.). Because of the constant
contact of the Wasiri with all of the agencies of government including
the British, the second DH had a much more intimate knowledge of the
workings of Emirate politics at the center.

634 These informal links become important when it is realized
662
648 that the DH works under a system of conflicting standards all of which
can be enforced. Thus a DH must give large gifts periodically to his
faction leaders, to the Shehu, and to many other persons throughout the
state. The British see these as bribes, the Kanuri regard them as legitimate
and obligatory. Since such expenses are not envisaged in a
DH's salary he is forced to obtain the money illegally (according to
634 British standards). Again, the DH's success in obtaining tax receipts
651 is of major importance. One British officer told the writer that he did

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(1) See the discussion above on nona and bərzum for the dynamics of interpersonal relations involved in "paying respects", pp.57-68.

645 647 works, etc., - are distinctly western. The Councillors work under the [631] advice of the Provincial Government Department, i.e. the Colonial government, whose top personnel are Europeans.

647 The personnel in the N.A. departments form what has come to 571 be called a new class in the society - the new mallams. They wear wrist watches, read vernacular newspapers, listen avidly to the radio, go to political meetings, join civil service associations, and think of themselves as urban, even when they are stationed in the bush. For the most part they have obtained their jobs as a result of some exposure to western education. The separateness of this "class" from the traditional society is often claimed by British officials some of whom see in this group the foundation of a new ruling elite whose membership will be [555] based on western education and outlook. That western education is a new means of upward mobility is undeniable, but the separateness of the new mallams in the N.A. departments from their traditional society and its values is open to doubt. This point can be illustrated by looking at some of the informal rather than formal rules of behaviour operating in the N.A.

647 Recruitment into the N.A. can be by application to the Shehu's Council or the relevant Department, in writing. No informants in [873] the N.A. had heard of this method ever being used. Another way of recruiting personnel is to obtain the new civil servants from among the Secondary School boys of Maiduguri. Teachers in the Secondary School [557] remark that this method is being used more often as time goes on. However, the most often utilized method of recruitment to the N.A. is a

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643 648 power, make the final decision if they wish. Stalemates are settled by the Governor of the Northern Region. The Resident officer of Bornu was adamant in his opposition to the Kanuri's own choice for Shehu-elect in his conversations with the writer on this topic.

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662
people higher up in the N.A. organization. It might also be achieved by using factional membership if this membership group was powerful enough.

647
[557]
Advancement in the N.A. is a combination of education, and diplomatic skill at Kanuri interpersonal relations, plus the status of one's agnatic group in the factional segments of the state. Western education, unless it is of a University caliber, is not enough, especially when those higher up in the N.A. are often less well educated than some of the personnel lower down who have come through an expanded educational program that was not available to many of the older generation.

647
571
On the surface, the N.A. looks like a western civil service. There are offices, typewriters, clerks, officials, expense vouchers, memoranda, telephones, employee organizations, etc. However, within the N.A. it is soon observed that Kanuri patterns of association are still highly determinative of the methods of behaving. "Big men" in the N.A. have their large extended household organizations of followers and kinsmen, and establishment of loyalty and subservience to superiors in the N.A. itself through the granting of socio-economic rewards still operates. This is why N.A. officials stationed in the Districts are unstable elements in the District organization of the DH. Their loyalties must be towards their department organization or they may find themselves in trouble. [641] Finally it should be understood that the idea of loyalty to an ideal of public service, rather than to particular individuals is a foreign concept that has no place in traditional Kanuri society and its norms of conduct.

Discipline in the N.A. reflects the operation of Kanuri

241 upon his farm production. One cultivator, a subordinate of the Dis-
433 trict Head, illustrated this point when he remarked that he had been
given some good land by his superior. He told how his tax collection
duties which took him away during the rainy season had severely lim-
[571] ited his ability to farm. Furthermore, as a comparative newcomer to
the town, and a supporter of such a politically powerful man as the DH
he was not welcome in a co-operative work group, and had no subordinates
or kinsmen in his own compound to care for the crops in his absence.

241
464 The number of wives a cultivator has available for work is
[586] a major factor in crop production. The high divorce rate makes this
primary source of labour unpredictable for each farmer from year to
[571] year.(1) Numbers and nature of bàrzum subordinates again help determine
the labour supply. If a man has many followers, his labour source is
large and secure; if he has few or none, his labour problem is a limit-
[476] ing one in crop production. Membership in a co-operative work group
(serwa) may, however, help to alleviate labour problems for some, and
about 60% of the farmers and craftsmen and 35% of the trader and politi-
cal and religious specialists, use this source of supply.(2) Finally, for
those who can afford wage labour, at a price per crop, or on daily sal-
aries, such is generally available in all but the smallest towns of Bornu.

[434] The difficulty is that most peasant households are numerical-
241 ly small, and have little liquid capital. This limits the secure avail-
464 ability of labour to those with stable marriage relations, or to those
571 with long and fruitful social relations in one place, i.e. kinship ties
or working bàrzum relationships with others in the same locality are

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(1) See Cohen, R., Marriage Instability and its Determinants Among the Kanuri of Northern Nigeria, (1958) (unpublished).

(2) See below p. 305.

241 464 571 the surest safeguards against labour shortages due to sudden (and common) divorces. This is the reason why people with longer associations in one place, and stronger ties of kinship in the community are less vulnerable economically to the high divorce rate than newcomers, or those with their primary social ties outside Magumeri. The exception to this generalization is, of course, the upper class who can either afford to use wage labour, or utilise the subservience of followers.

433 435 Variations in price bring about fluctuations in farming activities. A higher price of millet one year induces a somewhat greater interest by rural and urban dwellers in the production of food grains. On the other hand, an increase by Government of groundnut prices paid to producers causes greater interest and some increase in acreage devoted to cash cropping. Several city dwellers who had not farmed for periods of two to six years told the writer that they were either going to go themselves, or send a subordinate, to the bush the following year to raise millet, because the 1956-57 price had risen as high as 39/- to 41/- per bag.

433 435 458 Besides this year to year fluctuation, there has been a steady rise in the Bornu economy over the past two decades. From 1938 (1) to 1957 the prices in millet and groudnuts have been as follows:

TABLE XIII

	Millet (to consumer) shillings per bag Ø	Groundnuts pounds per ton to producer ø
1938	15	5
1957	30	33
Percentage increase	100%	660%

Ø Maiduguri market (average)
ø General price for Bornu

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[114] (1) Figures for 1938 taken from Economic Assessment Report (1938), file #3014, Bornu Provincial Government Office, Maiduguri. General prices for 1957 are taken from observations in the Maiduguri, Geidam, Damaturu and Magumeri markets.

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458 These figures show the spectacular rise in cash income which the Kanuri have enjoyed in the past two decades, and it is this fact basically, rather than increased productivity, which has accounted for the widespread innovations of industrially produced import goods.(1)

433
571 Crop production is also affected by the lability of interpersonal relations. If it is personally profitable for an individual to become the subordinate of someone else, then he may leave his farm work in order to enter the service of his new superior. Many individuals (especially young men) suggested to the writer that if he would take them on as tada njima (sons of the house, pseudo sons) and give them money to trade, they would go anywhere in Bornu, whether or not they had crops growing at the time. Of course, if they had other sources of labour besides their own, then their crops would not be affected by their absence, but such considerations did not seem to be important to them.

433
55 Finally, it should be realized that it is part of both the traditional and contemporary Kanuri conception of upward mobility that personal advancement is not to be found in farming. Achievement in Bornu is rather a function of profitable social relations and, more

433
369 recently, western education. As social and cultural change proceeds, and progressively more full-time employment in the larger towns develops the urban growth and the attractions of the city for the peasant cultivator forms a continual pull on the rural population, and, therefore, on crop production. At present the rapid urban growth has not been felt as forcibly as it might be because of the large numbers of city dwellers who still maintain and work rural farms during the growing season.

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(1) Cf. Winter, E.H., Bwamba Economy, East African Studies, No. 5, (1955), especially pp. 41-44.

434 in Bornu are made up primarily of full time farmers and semi-subsistence
463 farmers who practise craft work as well.

434 Sixty per cent of the changes in income reported are the
● 571 result of the acquisition or loss of tada njima. Apprentices are included in this category since they are subordinate to the household head. Thus the number of subordinates in a Kanuri household is a primary correlate of its economic rise or decline. Other reasons given are
434 fairly self-evident. Loss or gain in wives is much less a factor in
595 non-agricultural income. The only exceptions to this rule are the husbands of some (not all) potters whose wives give them a weekly cash income from the sale of pots. In the two cases listed above, both men report that an extra wife has freed them from some agricultural duties thus giving them more time for trade in one case, and craft work
434 in the other. In the two cases of income change due to membership in
571 an extended household organization, both these men are subordinate members of a Lawan's extended household. The loss or gain of new wholesale sources is treated in more detail in the discussion below on trade.

433 The following cases, taken from two of the budgets of Magumeri craft workers, illustrate the scale of production in rural Bornu which has been described above.

Ka'anami, the calabash maker

592 Ka'anami lives in a compound with four other people: his wife and infant daughter, his full younger brother, and his father's sister, an old woman. The compound, although fully enclosed, is next door to and opens into the compound of Ka'anami's father. Dolo, the younger brother, grows a cash crop and makes a few calabashes from time to time. The old woman, Palmatta, makes pots and cooks her own food. Dolo eats with his older brother, his father, or is given food by the old woman.

425
571 The high proportion of land obtained by political and religious specialists from the political leader reflects the social relations of these informants, many of whom have a close subordinate relationship to followers and supporters of the Lawan of their town.

241
[651]
[134]
[433] Operating costs for rural farm plots are governed by two factors. Firstly, there are tithes (zakat) which all farmers pay to their local political leader as a form of traditional tax. Secondly, there is soil depletion which brings decreasing results for equal effort through time. Thus even with proper planting, weeding and harvesting, the yield on a one acre plot of millet may range from eighty to four hundred pounds of threshed product, while the range for groundnuts is almost as large (one hundred and ten to three hundred and fifty pounds of decorticated nuts per acre). 242 Farm plots are generally used for three to five year periods and then left fallow for four to six years. 425 571 It should be noted that this soil depletion factor tends to activiate the political organization.(1) The farmer requiring new land generally seeks the advice of his local political leader as to whether to clear new bush land or perhaps take up some unused old plot already cleared, if such be available.(2)

423 In summary, land in Bornu can be categorized under four headings: (1) private property, which today refers primarily to house sites in large cities: these are not deeded but they can be rented or sold in a commercial transaction; (2) usufruct property, that is owned because the holder uses it, or cleared it from the bush; this also refers to

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[631] (1) Increased numbers in the household operates to the same effect.

(2) In order to avoid the anomaly of a higher political authority having to ask a lower one for favours, in places like Magumeri which house a District Head, a large section of land is set aside for the use of the incumbent D.H. and his subordinates. Thus the followers of the D.H. may apply directly to him rather than the local Lawan for land use rights. N.A. employees have their choice, they may ask the D.H. or the Lawan if they wish to obtain farm plots. In all these cases it is understood that tithing is unnecessary, for none of the persons involved are "peasants of Lawan".

241
464 The most striking result here is the almost universal reli-
593 ance upon wives as a source of labour. The only exception in the sample
was an upper class person, the headmaster of the Magumeri Junior Prim-
ary School, whose wife was confined to the compound in a marriage of
241 seclusion. Several other figures in the table are suggestive. The re-
592 latively low percentage of "others in the compound" used by political
571 and religious specialists (1) provokes the comment that the political spec-
ialists and a few of the religious practitioners in this group were sub-
ordinates of local political leaders. They in their turn had very few
241 dependants or subordinates in their own compounds. The relatively low
476 percentage of co-operative work group labour utilized by both traders
571 and the political and religious specialists compared with the other
groups (2) reflects their higher mobility and looser social ties with set-
241 tled rural community life. Finally, the disproportionately high use of
464 labourers by the traders indicates their interest in farming, but their
571 inability to utilize traditional social relationships of kinship and/or
settlement patterns to obtain labour sources, and points again to their
looser integration in the local social organization.

511 Leaving aside urban or upper class members, the cash expenditures for the remaining fifteen rural budgets ranged from one to twelve pounds per annum for 1955-56 with four separate budgets totalling twelve pounds each for operating expenses. Taking £7.0.0 as a rough median measure of central tendency, this brings the total calculated annual expenditures for rural households in Bornu to £65.0.0 in cash values.

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(1) This group is significantly different from the next lowest category in the table (farmers) at nearly the .05 level (P - 2.14).

(2) This difference is significant at the .05 level (P = 4.05) when the two top rows of serwa use are lumped and compared with the two bottom ones.

443 With one
[442] exception,(1) locally produced items such as medical services, pottery,
[438] meat, and so on, do not have a wholesale organization. Goods not produced locally involve some supra-local organization. This is true of things like salt, textiles, kola-nuts and manufactured goods. As a general rule, locally produced goods and services are retailed by their producers or their close relatives. Thus a lady making pots might send a daughter to market to sell; but a pottery woman was never observed selling her wares to a middleman who would in turn retail them. The data given above on Ka'anami, the calabash maker, is another example of this general rule.

438 On the other hand, retailers of goods not produced locally
442 must have some operating social relationships with a wholesale source of
443 supply. This wholesale supply relation may vary from a specifically
• 571 economic one to a much more diffuse superior/subordinate relationship. The primary modes of behavioral interaction for all these relationships are bérzum (discipline-respect) and aman (trust).(2) Some examples may help to illustrate this point.

(a) Momadu Mandama (Momadu, the salt seller)

438 Momadu, a man of about fifty-five to sixty years of age,
442 has lived in Magumeri for seven or eight years. He comes originally
443 from Hadejia (to the west of Bornu) where he began selling salt for a

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[824] [302] (1) Gworongo, the plant used by women for staining their teeth is produced locally, but not in enough quantity in any one town to meet demand. Thus a few middlemen per market cycle collect the plants from producers and distribute them throughout the area covered by their own market cycles. They sell to both consumers and retailers.

(2) See above, pp. 57-68.

438 442 443 mai gida (1) who was an Arab trader when he was still a small boy. The Arab would give him several bags of salt (about 10lbs. per bag) on credit and he would sell this material, winning about 1/- per bag for himself. After all the goods were sold, he paid the Arab for them. In his later teens or early twenties, he came to Maiduguri where he had [578] some agnatic relatives. They backed him for a while but he ended this relationship because of quarrels over the division of the profits.

When he first came to Magumeri, the wife of the District Head of the day became his mai gida (i.e. his supplier of salt). Her servants went to Maiduguri and picked up salt from wholesalers. She then distributed small lots in bags to retailers. When she left several years ago, he obtained another mai gida in Maiduguri.

It is from this mai gida that Momadu receives his salt at the present time. A tada njima (son of the house, subordinate follower) of the Maiduguri trader brings five bags of salt to Magumeri on Sundays (market day) and Momadu sells them during the week at approximately ● 571 2/6d profit per bag. Momadu feels no strong responsibility in this relation for, as he says, he has an aba njima (father of the house, superior, protector) or superior/subordinate relationship with Kachella Abba, the dyer and cloth seller in Magumeri. He eats at Kachella Abba's house, borrows money from him without interest, runs messages for him and helps Kachella Abba on his farm. If Kachella Abba ever moves away from Magumeri, Momadu feels that he would go with him. The salt seller claims that he has no father now and Kachella Abba is really his father

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[192] [571] (1) Mai gida is Hausa for head of the compound. In Kanuri it is used to mean the same thing, or it can also mean the person from whom ego obtains his goods. It implies superior/subordinate relationship, and (in Kanuri) can also imply a wholesale source of supply, i.e. a person who is ego's wholesaler.

571 (even though the two men are almost the same age).

(b) Bukar, tada njima of Mala Yaro (Bukar, the "son of the house" of Mala Yaro.

438 442 443 571 Bukar can be seen three or four days a week walking about town in Magumeri, with a tin of cellophane wrapped candies. Mala Yaro, one of the N. A. messengers who goes in and out to the city regularly gives him a tin about once a week, which the boy sells in town. Mala Yaro buys the tin from a "Kanti" (canteen or shop) run by a Kanuri in Maiduguri. The boy who is not related by kinship or marriage to his superior also helps Mala Yaro in the compound, carries his spear when the latter rides in ceremonial displays, gathers grass for the horse, carries water for the household (the women are in seclusion) and in return receives his food, clothing, shelter and spending money from his superior. Profits from the retailing of candy accrue to the senior who gives Bukar a small commission for his selling services. Here the retail economic relationship is only one small aspect of the superior/subordinate barzum relationship between the seller and his wholesale supplier, and therefore both meanings of the word apply to the one situation.

(c) Ajimi Gworoma (Ajima the kola-nut seller)

438 442 For the six to eight months a year when he is not tending his farm plots and intermittently during the farming season, Ajimi sells to bakama, retailers of small quantities of kola nuts. His Fa-Ol-Bro is (1) Alkali Bukar, the ex-Alkali (judge) of Geidam District. As of July, 1956, Alkali Bukar had given Ajimi £20.0.0 in cash on eight separate oc- [439] casions since the end of the 1955 harvests. With this money Ajimi purchased kola-nuts from big traders, who had trucked the nuts into Maiduguri from Jos, Kano and other parts of Nigeria.

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[554] (1) Having once received the title of Alkali, or any title, the recipient maintains it evey after he has become inactive in the role.

442 markets. The nuts are sold to any kola-nut retailer (bakama) who wishes
572 to buy them, but Ajimi named thirty-five of these whom he considered to
be "friends" and more regular customers than others. At the same time
442 they buy from other and bigger wholesalers.(1) Retailers also use standards
452 of quality as well as price in their buying discriminations, but
572 are interested even more in obtaining a credit relationship with their
supplier. To his thirty-five "regulars", which include four consanguineal kin, Ajimi does extend credit if requested and this is fairly often. He does not give credit to a stranger, a man he does not consider a "friend", i.e. with whom he has had little contact. This credit can mount up and if several debtors leave for other places in Bornu, Ajimi can conclude his selling trip with a loss rather than a gain. This happened to him in July, 1955, when he reportedly lost £12.0.0 on one kwando of kola-nuts. The people who owed him money all seemed to be moving around the country at the time and he was left with a lot of bad debts from retailers who had moved off to other parts of Bornu.

442 When asked specifically, Ajimi replies that Alkali Bukar is
571 his mai gida, but when describing the relationship in his own words he
does not use the term. Instead, he repeatedly refers to himself as the
tada of the Alkali and says that this person is "like his father".
[602] That is to say, although the mai gida relationship can be used to describe
what happens between Ajimi and his Fa-Ol-Bro, it is more often used when the relationship is not truly consanguinal.

Ajimi is quite prepared to move into a bàrzum relationship with any of the four big traders from whom he buys if this could be arranged profitably between them. Indeed, Ajimi is very much on the look-

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(1) Ajimi only sells one kwando per trading trip, while others distribute anywhere from two to six.

442 out for some new supplier relations since he has recently lost money
571 for Alkali Bukar (1) and the latter, kinship notwithstanding, has been reluctant to continue his financing. Without being asked, Ajimi referred to the possibility of relationships in the future with non-kin backers to meet his need for a mai gida.

(d) Alkali Bukar

441 Alkali Bukar who up until summer of 1957, had been financing
452 Ajimi, was at one time the Alkali of Magumeri and still owns a choice
[423] farm plot there which his son plants and harvests for him with the aid
[648] of labourers. When he was dismissed from his judicial post several years ago by the British he went into trade using his house in Maiduguri as his headquarters.

441 He gives out money to people like Ajimi to trade with and
452 takes a share of the profits. Some of these subordinates are kin rela-
571 tions, most are not. Those who are not consanguinal kin start out in his household as tada njima where they carry water, cut grass for the for the horses, run messages and so on. For this they receive their food, shelter, clothing and a little spending money. If over a period of one to two years they prove trustworthy the Alkali gives them some
441 money for trade. During 1956-57 he engaged in the following ventures
438 in Bornu:

(1) Several (two or three) "boys" bought millet in Geidam for sale in Maiduguri.

(2) One "boy" sold cloth (obtained by the Alkali) in Damasac, as well as onions, which the subordinate obtained himself with the Alkali's money.

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[684] (1) Ajimi has a penchant for adultery and has had to pay several large fines recently, the money for which he obtained from his trading receipts.

441 439 (3) One "boy" bought fish at Abadam on Lake Chad and sold it in Maiduguri.

(4) One "boy" bought soda in Bama (Cameroons) for sale in Maiduguri.

(5) Several (one to three) bought cattle in Bornu and sold them in Kano.

(6) Several (one to three) bought cattle in Bornu and sold them in Makurdi.

(7) One "boy" purchased butter in Damaturu (Fulani country) and sold it in Maiduguri.

441 438 (8) One (Ajimi) sold kola-nuts in Magumeri and previously bought groundnuts for sale in the capital.

441 571 It can readily be seen that this man, although not directly involved, finances a fairly large amount of trade. His method of participation is peculiarly Kanuri, in that he utilizes the tada njima relationship with its bərzum (discipline-respect) and aman (trust) content to head up a large commercial organization on a structural basis similar to Kanuri kinship and political organization.

441 452 It is men like Alkali Bukar who form the basis for what might be called "finance traders", i.e. a person who has sufficient capital and/or credit connections, that he can begin attracting to himself subordinates whose primary task is the business of buying and selling commodities throughout Bornu. Like almost all trade in the area which is not directly linked to consumer expenditure, the activities of men like Alkali Bukar are extremely diffuse. He does not specialize in any one item of trade, rather he finances any type of buying and selling in which any conceivable profit might accrue to himself. This [511] diffuse quality in trade is due to several factors. Firstly, the poverty of the country which is reflected in its small consumption of any one item per unit family. This makes it more profitable to spread out

441 the Levantine often speaks Kanuri and almost always fluent Hausa; he
439 lives in the African town; and is a Muslim. He is therefore culturally
563 and socially closer to the Kanuri traders than is the European and
stands in middleman relationship between the European and the African
for many other than simply economic reasons.

178 Pressure to short-cut the Levantine trader continues from
441 439 the African community. Growing capital resources and acquaintance with
563 western business techniques, besides a growing nationalism which hints at
xenophobia, is enlarging the direct contacts between the African and the
European trading houses. At least one European firm has recently made
a definite move to go to the rural areas and seek out retailers locally
to give them small advances of textile goods, thus short-cutting the
chain of middlemen which has previously obtained between the European
importers and the bush retailer.

Credit

452 Underlying much of the economy of Bornu is a manifold system of credit which eases the operation of the production, consumption
and distribution of goods and services. At the local level, credit can
452 be obtained in several ways. A man may borrow money or goods from a
571 friend, relative or superior with whom he has a relationship involving
mutual trust. This kind of credit requires no interest. Failure to
repay renders future requests less possible and makes the relationship less important for both concerned. Thus if Modu borrows five pounds
from his friend or superior and does not repay the loan, other aspects
of the relationship such as eating food at his creditor's house begin
[691] to atrophy. Court action is a possibility but only as a last resort
and after some overt antagonism since it translates a potentially profitable relationship into one of mutual conflict and such breaches do
not heal easily.

452 441 But credit *per se* plays a large part in the total economy. Thus the butchers all remarked that they would buy cows during the wet season, preferably for cash. If this was not possible, they had arrangements with nomad cattle herders to take a cow on credit for a higher price, and then pay the herder after the meat had been sold. As we have seen, Ajimi's kola-nut business is run on credit. Many of the articles brought into the local market such as small manufactured goods, salt, sugar, cloth, and a host of other items are obtained on credit and payment made after the sale. 452 441 571 It is because this entire complex of trading relations depends so much on credit that traditional behaviour norms of *bàrsum* and *aman* are applied to the economic organization. These institutionalized patterns of discipline and trust create an avenue for socially predictable behaviour without which credit relations would be impossible.

442 [452] [436] Credit also plays a part in the introduction of cash into the Bornu economy from the European sources of capital. The key role in this transmission is that of the *sìkelma* (scale man) who buys the cash crop in the bush. An insight into this role may be seen in some of the interview material from Malam Mina, a wholesale salt trader, who also buys groundnuts over the scale at Magumeri during the harvest season. During November, Malam Mina, along with fifteen to twenty-five others, comes to Magumeri from the city. He sets up a grass mat shelter at the "station", near the motor road, about two hundred yards west of [405] the town proper. The hallmark of this little colony is the scale which sits out in front of each shelter with bags of decorticated groundnuts [443] being prepared for shipment into the city. Each shelter also has a generous supply of textiles for sale so that peasants may purchase their [369] new cloth on the spot when cashing in the crop. The buyers also bring their city culture with them and during their short stay, morris chairs,

442 369 camp stools, battery radios, talk of politics and city life enliven the rural scene.

442 443 452 Malam Mina buys for his mai gida, Alhaji Ali, a Kanuri trader in Maiduguri who has a retail store or "canteen" as it is called locally. The mai gida gives Malam Mina cigarettes, flashlight batteries, perfumes , etc., for the latter's teber (table) or booth which a younger [405] brother runs for him in Maiduguri. Alhaji Ali obtains about ten scales from a Levantine trader during the harvest season and gives them out to his tada (boys) who go to the bush and buy the cash crop. Malam Mina receives a straight commission of 12/- per ton of decorticated nuts and as much profit as he can on the import items (mostly textiles) which are also obtained on credit from his mai gida. He remarked how he had only been with Alhaji Ali this one year, last year having bought for another man who had a direct link to a European company. However, last year he found that his buying price was £2.0.0 less per ton than other [434] scale men, and his commission fell. In 1955 his commission (from receipt slips) was about £60.0.0 but he hoped to get around £75.0.0 or £80.0.0 in 1956-57.

442 435 Malam Mina may, if it is possible, depress the price below the buying price given to him. This causes no undue concern on the part [455] of his mai gida in the city as long as his tonnage does not decline. He also buys futures at 20/- to 25/- per bag, whenever he can, but would not estimate how much of this he does.

441 571 It is interesting to note that Malam Mina has been taken on by his new mai gida and given a trading role without the more usual period of general service and subordination, as in the case of the "boys" [212] of Alkali Bukar. Here we have another example of specialization. Malam Mina is an experienced scale man. He can read and record figures and sign his name.

441 571 sign his name. Such skills are rare and thus he can market them to obtain money and credit for trading. The result is to make his relationship to his mai gida much more specifically economic or contractual rather than diffusely subordinate.

452 436 441 Finally, it should be realized that the ultimate source of Malam KinA's cash which he gives out in Magumeri is either a European trading company or a bank. Every year before harvest time money and goods go out on credit from these sources to the Levantine and African traders connected with them. These traders in turn divide up the money and goods among their followers and so on until it comes to the bush in the hands of people like Malam Kina. The Kanuri have come to depend on this yearly inflow of cash to buy their clothes, give many of their rites de passage, and to purchase an ever increasing number of manufactured import goods. The entire inflow of cash which supports these requirements is linked through a series of middlemen relationships to a half dozen European sources which are always financing the export/import economy. [433] Because the Kanuri have learned to need the imports in this trade, they are now linked to a world, especially the western world economy, and are vulnerable to the policies of a very small number of large European companies, and the ups and downs of world commerce.

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duced new wants in consumer goods, and encouraged the spread of cash cropping and native middlemen to fill roles as distributors of western products, and as buyers of cash crops at the village level.

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However, the Bornu Emirate under the British was not the same article as its 19th century predecessor. Its boundaries were now permanently delimited and required no great responsibility on the part of the local people to defend or expand. The military power of the Shehu and control of "foreign affairs" with other Sudanic military powers had now been taken over by the British, who performed these functions in accordance with the imperial policies of the colonial government of England. Indeed the need for militarism all but vanished since the Bornu political organization and territory were now dependent upon the position and policy of Great Britain in world affairs.

The policies of indirect rule created a climate of control wherein the previous cultural life could continue; however, because of the intrusion of the British administration into the top of the society as a controlling caste who were supposed to rule through local authorities, there occurred a potential weakening of the indigenous political [182] organization. Although a high degree of integration of law, religion and social organization remained, and all functioned to support authority, there were no other authorities at the top of Kanuri society. Unlike the authorities in the traditional society, the British had different values and goals. Because both traditional standards of performance and goals and the new ones are both enforceable, new conflicts have become possible in the contemporary society, especially in the political sphere.

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In order to place kinship in a larger social context, behaviour associated with kinship has been categorized under four somewhat

602 overlapping areas of norms of behavior, each of which includes kin and
• 571 non-kin relationships. These are, namely, shame-avoidance (*nungu*), dis-
[183] cipline-respect (*bérzum*), joking (*suli*), and friendship (*numkam*). The mutual expectations accompanying these norms of behavior are the "warp and woof" of Kanuri interpersonal relations. Or to put it another way, they are the building blocks upon which the Kanuri social structure maintains itself as an ongoing system.

This is especially true of the *bérzum* relationship. The Kanuri social structure is hierarchical and feudal, and in order to accomplish the tasks necessary to any human society within this kind of organizational framework, the Kanuri require a multitude of diffuse social relations arranged into chains of superior/subordinate relationships. The rules governing behavior within these superior/subordinate relations are encompassed by the concept or norms of *bérzum* and thus this particular set of mutual expectations is of central importance to the perpetuation of Kanuri society in its present form.

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591 Some of the dynamics of interpersonal relations are apparent in the residence patterns. Because a social structure is placed in time, birth, maturation and death continually create changes in personnel, as well as in their roles and aspirations. As we have seen, this can affect Kanuri residence associations in two ways. A man may desire to set up his own household and thus hive off from the patrilocal residence to
[592] initiate a residence group under his own direction. Again, a father or senior man of the patrilocal compound may die, leaving a group of siblings under the direction of a senior sibling. This also tends through time to break up into smaller residence units which are on the way potentially to becoming patrilocal extended households.

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592 These structural features are in their turn functions of

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571 power and authority relations within the organization of each residence
592 groupings. This brings us back to bərzum, for where the members of a
residence grouping are obtaining the proper receipts for their subservience, their discipline-respect, then no matter what structural cleavages and conflicts are present the organization remains intact. If, however, the suborindates in the residence association see themselves as not receiving enough for their discipline-respect, or envisage more desirable receipts elsewhere, either through independence or a transfer of their subordination, then cleavages in the residence structure emerge and the group splits up.

583 The discussion of marriage has served to illustrate Kanuri
571 attitudes and behaviour within contractual relations in which goods and
services are exchanged between persons and groups. Bridewealth is given by the man and his group of relatives and friends to the girl and her group. The closer the marriage is to being the woman's first, the more likely it is that her luwali (dispenser of marriage rights) and kin
[426] group take the bridewealth payments rather than the woman herself. Men
borrow from relatives, friends, and superiors to obtain the money for marriage expenses. Thus a man's social relational network in Bornu is an important part of his capital reserve.

581 The Kanuri classify marriages into two major categories,
virgin or first marriage (female speaking) and marriage with a woman who
581 has been married before. Marriages are further sub-divided on the basis
593 of the kinds of relationships established by the wedding. The rela-
tionship between the man and woman may entail the seclusion of the wife
[565] within the compound (nyia kulle). This is not strictly an either/or
category but rather a matter of degree, since all Kanuri men like to see their wives remain in the compound as much as possible. However,

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In the marriage relationship itself there is a conflict between what most Kanuri men expect of their wives - that is to say, subordination - and what they actually experience. It is held that this conflict is due to the woman's ability to subvert the cultural ideal of male dominance through his dependence upon her for much of [565] his own status in the community. This is less true among the upper [586] classes where the man is less dependent upon the woman for his status, and at this level there are fewer divorces.

571 The discussion of the Kanuri life cycle along with the material on kinship and marriage has been designed to give a description on interpersonal relations. Although the whole fabric of Kanuri society operates at once, the large scaled structural features of the society are linked behaviourally by these patterns of interpersonal relations. At the level of social stratification, political and economic organization, the organizational patterns of the total society must be seen as operating through and with the modes of interpersonal relations.

561 In the life cycle, we have seen how age statuses are only roughly correlated with the physiological phases of growth, maturity and decline. They are more precisely defined in terms of sequences of skills to be learned and tests to be passed during the lives of individuals.

858 During the first eighteen months of life the infant (tiful) is introduced into the company of its family within the context of Kanuri culture. This period sets in motion the learning experiences which guide the new member into full adult participation in the society. Until the end of the tiful stage the individual is treated gently and permissively, and socialization pressure is at a minimum. The tiful

858 is considered too young to understand that it must not do this or that. Its primary task is to survive and feed at the breast while becoming identified as a new member in its immediate society.

867 After weaning (and perhaps adoption) the steady, inexorable process of socialisation training is applied to the child. This childhood training teaches the young Kanuri slowly but with ever increasing emphasis the central importance of the behaviour norm. Especially is this true of bǝrzum (discipline-respect) whose necessity and moral primacy the growing child is taught to understand and utilise. This means that the child is taught to shift and extend the culturally prescribed modes of behaviour from one situation to another, and from person to person. From the point of view of the individual, childhood 867 training results in a picture of society. Of major importance in this 571 picture or image of society is its personal diffuseness. The person learns that there is not necessarily a final or definite locus of power and authority residing in any particular person. Instead there is rank and status, and the individual learns to respond in a culturally prescribed fashion to many combinations and permutations of these role characteristics by applying the proper behaviour norms. This, in turn, prepares the individual to live in the adult world of Kanuri social relations in which there are multitudes of ranks to which he may be called upon to react.

561 867 882 [582] By the end of childhood, as the Kanuri define it, which means somewhere between the ages of nine to thirteen, the sex roles and many of the accompanying behaviours have been learned. From this period onward, the development towards adult status is sharply differentiated for males and females. Girls enter into their first marriage at this time, while boys begin the occupational training that

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828 within this structure. The higher the status of an individual, the
829 more *arziyi* he has, and the success of any one individual either in
moving from one role to another, or in performing any given role also
indicates the extent of his *arziyi*.

631 The Kanuri political system has been described in terms
of the organization of power and authority in increasingly scaled so-
cial structures starting with the extended household organization and
621 ending with a discussion of modern political parties. Any local resi-
dence group in Bornu is potentially a larger political unit either in
the form of a ward within a town or as a separate hamlet in the bush.
This unit resembles an extended family organization but may include
non-kin as well as kin members who are all subordinate in some way to
the senior male of the residence association. We have used the term
[602] extended household organization to describe this flexible unit. The
relation of all subordinates to the senior member is similar to that
between a father and his sons and non-kin as well as kin members
621 bring their wives to this unit at the local level. If the extended
557 household organization head can maintain the subordination of his fol-
(622) lowers, then he is on the way to becoming a "big" man. This can even-
tually lead to his attainment of the political position of Hamlet Head
or Ward Head (*Belama*). This achieved status is then stabilized through
inheritance.

621 At the local level, the extended household organization
• 571 applies to a territorial unit of closely contiguous compounds each
with its own head but with some form of subordination to the head of
the larger unit. As we have seen, in other sections of the political
organization and in the economic organization this kind of superior/
subordinate relationship may be spread out to include men not living

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in households contiguous to their superiors. The Kanuri have no name for this constant and fundamental organization in their society. However it is a major conclusion of this study that the organisational characteristics of what we have here labelled the extended household organization is the basic link between the structure of local, small scaled social interactions and the wider scaled political and economic organization of the Emirate.

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The Emirate as a whole is segmentary and hierarchical structure of authority running from the Shehu-in-Council down to the lowly peasant compound. For such a system to work most efficiently there should be a pyramidal system of control from one final power through followers, to followers of followers and so on. This makes each man in the state link up hierarchically and personally to the man above him. Any conflicts between segments can be minimized and controlled if all members of the system are sensitive to the power at the top of the structure. In the language of the present discussion lower level members are (ideally) subordinates in the extended household organization of the next higher level in the political structure.

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In practice there are factors present which make it impossible for the Kanuri political organization to be a simple hierarchy of authority so that each man looks to the man above him in the structure. For power and potential power in the future is segmented at the center of the State among the agnatic lineage members of the royal family and the top leaders of N.A. Thus the lower echelons of the political pyramid are lined up, not behind a unitary repository [648] of power at the center, but many. The power of the British tends even more to break up any possible unity which might occur at the top of the political organization, and tends besides to create ambiguous

434 man of means. That is to say it is not correct to extrapolate the proportions of Kanuri budgets into the future, unless incomes and social values remain constant.

454 Saving takes place in Bornu on a short term basis, and attempts to save after harvest time for a marriage, or for a few weeks in order to buy a new robe, are quite common. However systematic and morally sanctioned long term savings are impossible for the majority of the population.

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571 The traditional reason for savings in the Western world is the highly responsible nature of each man for his own subsistence. The Kanuri on the other hand obtains much of his personal security from his social relationships, his kinship ties, and the other groups of which he is a member. Thus a man may always take a meal at a relative's, friend's or superior's house. It is because of the traditional interpretation placed upon security, that increased income is at present utilized to create stronger and more widely ranging sets of *bàrzum* relationships with kin and non-kin subordinates.

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511 Nevertheless, increased cash incomes in the last twenty years, have been changing and expanding Kanuri consumption patterns. Today, city people like to ride and own bicycles. Wrist watches, aided by the post-war manufacture of cheap Swiss makes, are widely owned and demand is increasing. The upper class and urbanites in general give canned fruits and candies to one another as gifts; refrigerators and electric fans are coming into more common use among the urban class, as are vacuum flasks, tea, coffee, industrially produced beverages, and a host of other "modern" goods. Thus Kanuri tastes are widening, and foreign travel, as well as modern means of mass communications, are informing an ever growing section of the population about the comparative poverty of

441 452 the extended household organization of Alkali-Bukar -otherwise Ajimi could not have got into trade.

Thus attempts to set up direct contacts with bush retailers and wholesalers, and thus reduce the number of middlemen, by the big Companies is probably doomed to failure. For these bush traders will simply use the credit gained, to set up or expand extended household organizations for trading. Only when the populations as a whole can afford to buy more expensive consumption items, and spend more per person generally, will there be a need for large stores of goods and less need of the multitude of middlemen now present in the social structure.

178 571 [177] The social changes brought about by the colonial administration and the concomitant economic development of the Bornu area have been already treated above. What remains to be considered is the nature of stability and instability in Kanuri society as a whole. The question can be asked in this way; given the nature of the Kanuri social system, what conditions are necessary to its perpetuation in a similar form to that described in the study?

183 571 The basic prerequisites for the present structure of Kanuri society are its behavioural norms. Indeed this is a partially tautological statement, for the structure of Kanuri society is the organized use of the behaviour norms in its various social structures. These structures running from small to large scale focus on the various tasks necessary to the perpetuation of social life in Bornu. In the family compound, the local and Emirate political units, the social relations of the individual in the consumption, production and distribution of goods and services, the norms of interpersonal relations give stability to Kanuri society.

182 But these norms are in turn dependent upon other phenomenon
183 in the society. Child training practices and the conditions under
571 which they occur teach recruits to the society how to operate in the adult world. The political and economic structure ensure that proper
178 bərzum relations are rewarded. Changes in these phenomenon will pro-
571 duce changes in the overall structure of society, and we have seen cer-
[555] tain changes already occurring. Thus western education is becoming more important as a means of upward mobility into the highly ranked civil
[156] service and this change in recruitment practices will continue. This is bound to produce personal conflicts for those who are subjected to the conflicting goals and standards of the two systems of socialization, which could manifest itself in a western trained group of reformers setting up pressure for change in the society.

Urbanization which has been increasing in the past twenty years will continue to do so in the near future. Norms of living are expanding to include more goods from the outside world. This is being constantly stimulated by improved channels of communication and transportation. The future of the present structure of Kanuri society is clearly dependent upon whether or not its political and economic organization can be maintained in the face of these ongoing changes as they accumulate through time.

178 Another way to think about the stability of Kanuri society
565 is to consider the possibility of class conflict. If such conflict is
578 possible, then a different kind of structure can emerge relative to the present. At the moment it is hierarchical segments which are often in opposition to one another. Class conflict sets up solidary or cohesive tendencies among horizontal strata of society and results in the opposition of segments containing relatively equal ranks.

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578 Peasants often complained of excess taxation, or bad judi-
cial decisions, or the harshness of some upper class person. Again
most peasants when asked about Nigerian independence, thought of the
idea as horrendous, for with the British gone they believe that they
would be oppressed as of old by the upper class. Does this constitute
a "class conflict?" If by "class conflict" is meant an opposition of
interests, goals, loyalties of different ranks in society, then there
is no "class struggle" in Bornu. The study has shown that there is no
total reliance or identification of any whole strata or class horizon-
156 tally across the society. A man feels friendly and culturally comfort-
571 able with his social equals. He also feels socially and psychologically
comfortable with his followers, subordinates, kinsmen (if not competi-
tors), close friends, and they with him. A peasant-commoner is not
one among the masses of his social equals. He is someone's peasant,
i.e. he is ranked in a system of superior/subordinate relationships
that link him to a great complex feudal organization which is the State.
56 This means, to use Gluckman's phrase, that the society is "crosslinked"(1)
571 by class and status on the one hand which bring together people of
similar goals, rank, class, and wealth; and on the other hand, by feu-
dal chains of superior/subordinate relations that link up individuals
into a vertical system of loyalties so that a man's ties are both with
his class and with his superiors. It is very difficult to imagine a
"class conflict" while this kind of social organization is operating.
178 However, the analysis allows us to see the conditions of change of the
571 system. If the stability of the social organization depends, as this
369 argument suggests, to a large extent on the cross-linkage of social re-
lationships, then if these cross-links were to end or weaken, serious
conflicts might result either horizontally or vertically depending upon

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(1) See Gluckman, Max, Custom and Conflict in Africa, Oxford:Blackwell, 1955.

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369 where the weakening occurs. This is the reason why the emergence of a very large city population poses a danger to the entire social system of Bornu. With a population approaching 100,000 in the restricted space of an urban center, it is increasingly difficult for everyone to connect himself to the hierarchical networks of social relations that make up the socio-political structure of Bornu. Thus the 1952 census recognized 4-5000 "vagrants" in Maiduguri and present estimates (1956-7) put this figure much higher. When this system of hierarchical linkages becomes less possible, it is a simple step to the formation of associations based primarily on linkages of simple interest, political parties, trade and occupation unions and so on. The beginning of such organizations can already be seen in the capital city of Maiduguri today.

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511 Closely related to this verticality in Kanuri society is the widespread poverty and the relative increase in wealth as one moves up the status system. For it is materially beneficial at present for a subordinate to give subservience and loyalty to his senior. This means that a substantial rise in the standard of living can dispose of one of the major functions served by the present social structure. If a

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556 tendency is set up in favour of horizontal rather than vertical relationships in the society, the fundamental philosophy of wealth will become a cart without a horse. For in the values of the contemporary culture the proper use of wealth is the creation of vertical relationships.

600 These remarks are not meant to be taken as categorical prophesies concerning the future of Kanuri society. The writer is painfully aware of limitations to accurate prediction which beset his own work and that of contemporary anthropology. However, having made an analysis of the structural framework of this society it seems advisable

829 This triviality[1] is supported by traditional notions of cultural
779 and social change. It has often been said that Muslims are tied
to their traditional ways because of the fatalism inherent in
[114] their religious beliefs. Unfortunately this is an overgeneralization that explains very little, and certainly not the course of
events described above. The Kanuri *are* Muslim, and they
often *do* make fatalistic statements. But, their fatalism always
concerns areas of total impotence as these are conceived of by
[369] the speaker. Thus rural peasants speak in a fatalistic way about
[665] the political organization of Bornu, although this is not the case
with many urban persons who belong to, or support, reform parties.
Or again, fatalism may be expressed over death, or knowledge
of God, or the origin of the world, or its future. Fatalism is
never referred to, however, for areas of behaviour that the individual construes to be susceptible to change by human efforts.
829 This is especially true of two closely related areas of social life,
557 (a) the economic sphere, and (b) social relations. The Kanuri
believe that it is possible and desirable to increase economic
571 status by one's own efforts. The preferred route to economic
betterment is not via technology, although this is important, but
by improving social relations. Thus to become a truck driver,
one needs workable relations with people who are drivers, so
that the status of apprentice may by achieved. That lorries are
a technological improvement over horses and donkeys is easily
[779] perceived and accepted. That is to say, the Kanuri are not
against change because as Muslims they accept the traditional
world as a manifestation of God's will. They do believe, however, that individual advancement is gained primarily through
profitable social relations, and only secondarily through technology.

241 It should also be noted in this respect that the Magumeri peas-
433 ants never at any time voice any dissatisfaction with the quantity
of their crop yields *using customary techniques*. Complaints are
592 heard but these always have to do with other aspects of farm
production more closely related to family and household organization. Traditionally, and this is so today, crop yields are increased through expanding one's acreage under cultivation. For
all peasants questioned this is accomplished through the expansion
of their household size, either by taking more wives, or client

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[1] [i.e., that dictatorial powers were not invoked over the decision to use or not to use fertilizer, thus defining the whole matter as trivial and unimportant in the minds of the people. -- Analyst]

followers, or having children. Conversely, peasants who ex- 241
perience a decrease in crop yields attribute this to a loss of 433
personnel in their household (Cohen, 1959: 272-5). Thus in- 592
creased yields like many other facets of self-improvement in [829]
Bornu are based on social relations, not technology, when seen [571]
from the peasants' point of view.

Although there is no confirming evidence, another factor 000
may have been operating in this situation. The sudden release from autocratic leadership could have been an expression of the aggression, hostility, and rebelliousness, usually associated with psychological reactions to authoritarian leadership. White and Lippitt (1953: 602) have shown this to be so in their studies of children's clubs, and it may have a much wider application. Whether or not people with a long tradition of autocratic social organization experience these same feelings, with the same intensity is a question which must await further research.

The field worker, Malam Abdulla, was a young man of 159
twenty-two. He had recently graduated from a one-year course 242
at an agricultural technical training college and hoped to rise 177
quickly in the Bornu department. He was, however, blocked by 555
the seniority system which placed over him people with less [874]
education than himself. The college officials had evidently made much of the advantages of education and promised the graduates rapid advancement. But, jealousy, nepotism, and his youth held him back, for the moment, from obtaining a higher post. Malam Abdulla deeply resented this, and continually blamed his lot upon the traditional social order of Bornu. He admired European technology, which had given him his hoped-for status, and was also attracted to the western ideology of liberal democracy, with which he had come into contact in secondary school.

His department head, the Agricultural Officer, also admired European technology and culture. He lived in a European house, ate western food, and could on occasion act as a completely acculturated person. That is to say, both the department head, and the field worker indicated a generalized cathexis for western culture, not just its technology.